

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## W. Va. disaster: murder for profit

'Speedup caused 51 deaths,' socialist charges



BELMONT, W. Va.—Grief-stricken woman goes to identify body of her son, a victim of company disregard for safety. Inside, West Virginia workers tell what happened. See page 5.

Wide World Photos

The following statement was issued April 29 by Rosalinda Flint, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from West Virginia. Flint is a member of Laborers International Union Local 840 in Morgantown.

The killing of fifty-one construction workers in Willow Island must be called by its right name—murder. Murder for profit.

To cut their costs and increase profits, Monongahela Power Company and Research Cottrell Inc. forced these men up on a scaffold under conditions they knew were unsafe.

For the employers, it was only routine to "cut corners" on safety. Since construction began on the Willow Island power plant, federal inspectors had cited many serious safety violations—but levied a mere \$5,500 in fines.

It cost the employers little to violate safety laws. But it cost fifty-one workers their lives.

This routine pursuit of profits before safety goes on every day of every year at every construction site, factory, mine, and mill in the country. Every year it maims, poisons, and kills hundreds of thousands of working people.

*Continued on page 5*

**2,500  
march for  
ERA**

Union contingents  
join Chicago  
demonstration

—PAGE 6

## THOUSANDS PROTEST NUCLEAR DANGER



ROCKY FLATS, Colo.—Six thousand demonstrators demand end to nuclear weapons production, while 1,200 gather in Barnwell, South Carolina. See page 4.

Militant/Mary Imo

**Special sales week tops 11,000!**

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## Inflation & the new antilabor onslaught

Under cover of a phony "fight against inflation," the Carter administration is moving to drastically tighten the squeeze on the living standards of working people.

The latest government figures show consumer prices rising at nearly 10 percent a year. The costs of food, housing, and utilities—the basic items in workers' budgets—are rising even faster.

Yet Carter, in his highly publicized speech on inflation last month, declared he would limit wage increases for federal employees to 5.5 percent and called on other workers to "follow the example."

Carter blamed inflation on "our wasteful habits" and "preoccupation with self." He called on all Americans to "sacrifice for the common good." Quoting Walter Lippmann, Carter scolded the American people: "You took the good things for granted. Now you must earn them again. . . . There is nothing for nothing any longer."

"Nothing for nothing"—that is Carter's sanctimonious answer to the millions of jobless, to the sick unable to find decent medical care, to the schoolchildren in overcrowded and dilapidated classrooms, to all working people struggling to make ends meet.

"Nothing for nothing"—except for the super-rich owners of American industry, who do nothing but accumulate their wealth by exploiting the labor of workers.

When Carter talks about "sacrifice for the common good" he means it's good for the common people to sacrifice so that business can enjoy ever-rising profits. That's what the administration's "anti-inflation" plan is all about.

So it was only fitting that a delegation of top business executives met with Carter soon after his speech to voice their approval. General Motors Chairman Thomas Murphy pledged "maximum discipline" on prices.

A few days later GM announced a \$100 average increase in car prices—its third price hike in six months. The Carter administration labeled GM's action "responsible" and "reassuring."

Carter named Robert Strauss, a wealthy corporate lawyer from Texas, as his "special

counsel on inflation." Strauss promptly declared that he would fight any effort by other unions to match the three-year, 30 percent wage increase won by coal miners—in other words, any wage increases that come close to keeping up with the cost of living.

Driving down real wages is one central target in the administration's antilabor offensive. But there are others:

- **Environmental and safety standards.** Carter agrees with business that these are too costly. Strauss announced that his first three targets will be the postal workers, Teamsters, and . . . environmental regulations.

- **Retired and disabled workers.** G. William Miller, Carter's appointee as head of the Federal Reserve Board, is publicly arguing that cost-of-living provisions in Social Security benefits are keeping inflation high. Benefits were cut back last year at the same time Social Security taxes were raised, but the administration seems to be angling for more.

- **Jobs.** The new surge of inflation is being used as the excuse to end any pretense that the government will provide jobs for the unemployed. More and more the news media and politicians are chorusing that today's unemployment rate—6.2 percent *and rising*—represents "full employment."

None of Carter's moves will end inflation. On the contrary, government policies are *guaranteeing* inflation. The mammoth war budget, financed by federal deficit spending, is the prime cause of rising prices as well as the greatest drain on the resources needed for social services. Carter's energy plan will boost energy prices by billions of dollars a year—and add that amount to the already bloated profits of the oil companies.

Workers' struggles for higher wages are not the cause of inflation—they are an attempt to *catch up* with rising prices. There is no reason why our living standards should be sacrificed. And there is no reason to accept a "trade off" between inflation and unemployment. We need to defend our living standards against both.

The best way to do so is through cost-of-living escalators for all wages, Social Security, and other social benefits—to protect them from the ravages of inflation—and through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay to provide jobs for all.

There is growing sentiment in the ranks of the labor movement to launch a serious fight

to win these demands. But continued support by the union officialdom to the Carter administration and the Democratic Party is the greatest obstacle to such a fight.

Carter's actions make it clearer than ever that to defend our living standards workers need our own political party, a labor party, to fight against the bipartisan antilabor onslaught of the Democrats and Republicans.

## Carter's spy trial

Using the case of Ronald Humphrey and David Truong, two men accused of spying for Vietnam, the Carter administration is trying to establish the "inherent power" of the president to violate constitutional protections against illegal search and seizure.

Attorney General Griffin Bell has defended the use of warrantless wiretaps, television surveillance, and the search of sealed packages in the case of Truong and Humphrey with the claim that "I was trying to protect the nation."

This was the same "national security" argument used by Nixon to justify his secret police campaign against the anti-Vietnam War movement. The argument is no better coming from Carter and his underlings.

Humphrey and Truong are accused of passing low-level diplomatic cables of the type frequently "leaked" by government officials. Nevertheless, the decision to carry out electronic surveillance without the formality of a court order was personally approved by Carter.

A senior State Department official admitted to *New York Times* reporter Nicholas Horrock that the espionage charges—with a possible penalty of life imprisonment—had been brought "as a test of presidential power and nothing else."

Carter, despite his pious campaign promises of an "open government," is continuing the course set by his predecessors. His real target is not spies or foreign agents, but the right of the American people to oppose government policy and to fight for social change without being subject to wiretaps, hidden cameras, illegal searches, burglaries, and harassment by the secret police.

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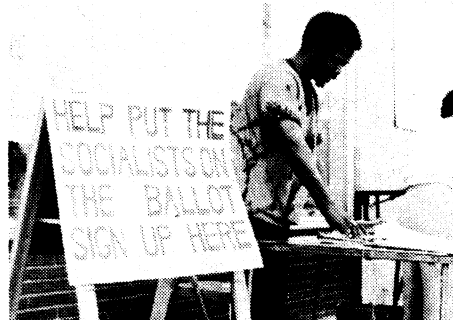
### The struggle in Ireland

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### SWP ballot drive

Supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidates in Pennsylvania and Texas gather signatures to place the party on the ballot. **Page 10.**



### Solidarity day with Stearns miners

After nearly two years on strike, miners in Stearns, Kentucky, are still determined to win. **Page 11.**

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# Gov't crisis in Zimbabwe exposes 'majority rule' plan

By David Frankel

With the dismissal of Black Justice Minister Byron Hove April 28, the shaky coalition regime in Zimbabwe has been thrown into crisis.

Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the most important Zimbabwean leader in the new government, has threatened to resign unless Hove is reinstated. Even if cooperation between Muzorewa and the representatives of the white settler population is preserved, Hove's dismissal has highlighted the fact that the white minority has no intention of giving up its privileges and power.

Hove aroused the anger of the Rhodesian racists when he demanded changes in the police and judiciary following his appointment to the justice post.

Pointing to decades of injustice, during which the white-controlled police and judiciary had "enthusiastically" enforced discriminatory laws against Blacks, Hove noted that de facto discrimination continued.

In a country in which the population is 97 percent Black, 30 percent of all civil servants are white. Not a single Black was in a senior post at the Justice Ministry besides Hove himself.

Using previously unavailable government figures, Hove showed that white government employees were paid an average of about ten times what Blacks were paid.

In the police force, Hove said it was time to change a situation in which young white reservists "give orders to African sergeants with many years' experience." (Until two years ago, Blacks were not allowed to be promoted above the rank of sergeant.)

At the same time that he demanded a program of preferential hiring and promotions for Blacks, Hove asked for



HOVE: Former minister says Smith offers Blacks 'shadow' of majority rule.

information on the record of the police and prison guards in assaulting Blacks.

The response of the racists was not long in coming. Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith declared that Hove "has been put in his place" following an official reprimand from the coalition government.

Lt. Gen. Peter Walls, the commander of the police and army, said that Hove's comments "cast doubt on the validity of the agreement" allowing Blacks into the government.

When Hove refused to back down, his dismissal was announced.

Muzorewa, who appointed Hove in the first place, is supposed to have a veto over any actions by the coalition regime. However, in a statement released a few hours after Hove was fired, Muzorewa claimed that the move was "as shocking to me as it was to the general public."

On April 30, Muzorewa's United African National Council issued a statement saying it "considers the dismissal unconstitutional and therefore null and void." It added that the council "is reviewing the whole question of its continued participation in the transitional government."

During the meeting that produced the demand for Hove's reinstatement, a crowd of 1,500 young Blacks gathered outside Muzorewa's headquarters. According to a report in the May 1

*New York Times*, the protesters displayed placards such as: "To Hell With Agreement," "No Hove, No Settlement," and, "Bishop [Muzorewa] Must Pull Out."

Hove himself, however, did not wait around for the results of the negotiations between Smith and Muzorewa. He left the country on the first available flight.

"I was calling for no drastic changes," Hove told reporters. "I was calling for a progressive and realistic implementation of the agreement that would demonstrate to our people that we are going to reach genuine majority rule."

The former minister added: "People in our country have been looking for evidence that the agreement is leading toward majority rule. Now they have evidence to the contrary. Far from adjusting toward majority rule, Smith and his machinery are trying to cheat us, to take us for a ride, and to cheat the whole world."

From his experience in the coalition regime, Hove concluded: "What Smith envisages is a situation in which the civil service, the police, the judiciary, the army, and all the state apparatus remain in the hands of white people. In other words, he believes in the substance of power remaining in white hands, with the shadow of authority passing to Blacks. That is his majority rule."

## 4,000 turn out April 26

## 'Peace Now' protests continue in Israel

By Peter Seidman

As many as 4,000 Israelis formed a fifteen-mile human chain along the main Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway April 26. The demonstrators were protesting Prime Minister Menachem Begin's refusal to withdraw forces from Israeli-occupied Arab lands as part of a negotiated Middle East peace plan.

Demonstrators carried "Peace Now" signs in English and Hebrew. One placard read: "Better a land at peace than a piece of land." Another, referring to Begin's Biblical justification for the Zionist land grab on the West Bank, proclaimed: "The lives of our sons are dearer to us than the graves of our ancestors."

*New York Times* correspondent William Farrell reported from Jerusalem that during the protest "there were many bumper stickers, many car lights blinking on in daylight in acknowledgement of the demonstrators' aims, placards and an evocative chant in Hebrew that translates: 'One two three four! We don't want another war!'"

The demonstrators presented Begin with 60,000 postcards signed by Israelis opposed to his policies.

"This has never happened in Israel before," former member of the Israeli parliament, Uri Avneri, told Farrell at the protest scene. "It's very American and reminds one of the beginning of the anti-Vietnam [War] movement."

The April 26 action signals that opposition to the government's hard-line policies is continuing in Israel. The demonstration came only four weeks after some 30-45,000 people held the first such protest ever April 1 in Tel Aviv.

Government leaders have tried to smear the "Peace Now" movement, as when Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich said that because it was initiated by reserve army officers, the protest "smells of a putsch."

At the same time, Begin's backers have tried to portray the protesters as isolated. A group called "Secure Peace" organized an April 15 counter-demonstration. But this attracted

fewer people than the April 1 protest it was intended to dwarf.

The "Peace Now" protesters have gained support from a group of about

300 religious Israeli Jews, and 350 academic figures from all of the country's institutions of higher learning have also backed their demand.



Antigovernment demonstrators lined Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway

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# Thousands say 'No nukes!'

## Rocky Flats

By Harold Sudmeyer

ROCKY FLATS, Colo.—Six thousand people braved high winds and rain April 29 to demand an end to nuclear weapons production here, a short sixteen miles from Denver.

The protest was one of several demonstrations against nuclear power and nuclear weapons around the country April 29-May 1.

The Rocky Flats action was the largest antinuclear demonstration since the rise of this new movement in recent years.

The Rocky Flats plant manufactures plutonium "triggers" for U.S. hydrogen bombs. It is also a key research and production site for the proposed neutron bomb. The plant is owned by the U.S. government and operated by the giant Rockwell International corporation.

Daniel Ellsberg, prosecuted by Washington for releasing the Pentagon Papers, told the crowd that the government is lying when it says it isn't affected by protests. Pointing to the example of the anti-Vietnam War movement, Ellsberg said, "Our power is right here—in the masses of human beings."

People came to the rally from several states. A large contingent of students from the nearby University of Colorado Boulder campus helped swell the crowd.

The international dimension of the antinuclear fight was dramatized by two survivors of the U.S. atomic bomb attack on Hiroshima who spoke at the rally. The rally also received greetings from Holland and Australia.

Earlier in the day, 1,500 people had gathered for a rally at the federal building in downtown Denver. Speaking were U.S. Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.); author Sid Lens; State Rep. Richard Castro (D-Denver); and William Frye, the episcopal bishop of Colorado. U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and U.S. Sen. Floyd Haskell (D-Colo.) sent greetings.

Black activist Stokely Carmichael received loud applause when he declared that capitalism is the cause of the threatened nuclear destruction of humanity.

The weekend's activities were organized by the Rocky Flats Action Group, which was initiated by the American Friends Service Committee and other pacifist organizations.

The protests were supported nationally by the Mobilization for Survival, and by many prominent individuals, including Prof. Noam Chomsky; Nobel Prize-winner George Wald; U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); Pete Seeger; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Ed Sadlowski, 1977 candidate for president of the United Steelworkers Union on the Fight Back slate; and Roman Catholic Archbishop James Casey.

Also supporting the march was Sue Adley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the First Congressional District.

Adley's supporters helped publicize the protest and distributed a campaign statement here. "The Socialist Workers Party opposes all nuclear plants and all military spending," the statement said. "The money in the huge war budget should be used



BARNWELL, S.C.: Top, marchers approach AGNS plant. Left, cops arrest protester. Right, balloon launch shows flight path of escaping radioactive substances.

to provide socially useful jobs instead.

"Employees at the Rocky Flats plant are exposed daily to low-level radiation. They are entitled to new jobs, with retraining if necessary, at pay rates equal to or above their present earnings."

After the Rocky Flats rally, 150 people began a sit-in on railroad tracks leading into the plant. As the *Militant* went to press, thirty-five remained. No arrests had been made.

## Barnwell

By Arnold Weissberg

BARNWELL, S.C.—Three days of protest against an almost completed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant near this rural town ended May 1 with the arrest of 280 demonstrators.

Although the protesters were merely sitting peacefully under pine trees to the side of the plant gate, and were not blocking access to the plant, Allied General Nuclear Services (AGNS) charged them with trespassing. Cops from the Barnwell County sheriff's department, South Carolina Highway Patrol, and the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division and Fish and Wildlife Division were on hand to make the arrests. Gov. James Edwards also called out National Guard units.

All the protesters submitted peacefully to the arrests. Most were later freed on fifteen-dollar bonds.

The day before, 1,200 people had marched six miles in a spirited display of opposition to opening the AGNS plant. Chanting "No nukes!" the marchers turned over to AGNS several thousand signatures backing their demand.

When marchers reached the plant site, dozens of helium-filled balloons were released. The balloons rose quickly into a brisk breeze and headed northeast—toward Columbia, South Carolina. This was a dramatic illustration of the path radioactive emissions from the AGNS plant would follow.

A rally featured Dr. Helen Caldicott, an Australian pediatrician now practicing in Boston, who is an expert on the effects of radioactivity on children; Dr. John Gofman, professor emeritus of medical physics at the University of California; local civil rights and farmer activists; and Linda Thalman, coordinator of the Tallahassee, Florida, Catfish Alliance. Thalman announced that her group is hosting a regional anti-nuclear power strategy conference May 27 and 28.

One of the most inspiring presentations came from a group of Japanese antinuclear activists.

They described the effects of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and their fight against nuclear power.

The rally also heard messages of solidarity from England, Ireland, and Australia.

Rock star Jackson Browne gave a free, hour-long concert following the rally.

The two actions were sponsored by the Palmetto Alliance, a South Carolina antinuke coalition. Participants came from all over the South, and from as far away as California.

The AGNS plant, owned by a group of giant oil companies, was designed to operate as a private enterprise, reprocessing used fuel rods from nuclear power plants. However, since reprocessing has turned out to be commercially unprofitable, AGNS's owners are trying to get the federal government to take it over.

If the plant is not used for reprocessing, AGNS or the government may simply turn it into one of the world's largest—and therefore most dangerous—dumping grounds for radioactive waste.

## Taft, La.

By Ron Repps

TAFT, La.—More than 200 people gathered here April 30 to protest the building of a nuclear power plant. Taft is only twenty-five miles up river from New Orleans. The plant is being constructed by the Louisiana Power and Light Company.

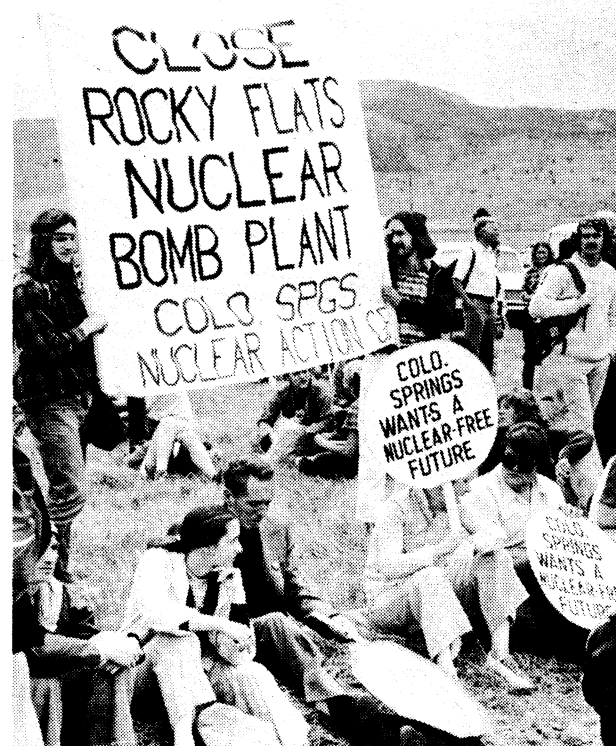
Protesters gathered in New Orleans and proceeded here by caravan. Along the way, pedestrians and passengers in other cars responded to the caravan's antinuke signs with waves and shouts of encouragement.

The demonstration was organized by the Oyster Shell Alliance, a New Orleans-based coalition of environmental and conservation groups; the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance; and other organizations and individuals around the city and state.

A number of demonstrators were Black activists from Afro-Americans Against Nuclear Power.

An antinuclear protest also took place in Pittsburgh. At an action sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival, 200 people there called for an end to nuclear weapons and for banning the neutron bomb.

In Hartford, Connecticut, 150 people gathered at the state capitol to protest shipments of radioactive civilian and military materials through the state.



Militant/Mary Imo



# W. Va. workers: 'Company tried to speed up the deadline'

By Brian Williams

WILLOW ISLAND, W.Va.—Company demands for speedup of production were responsible for the power-plant massacre of fifty-one men April 27. Workers here angrily explained what happened.

Construction workers building a cooling tower for the plant plunged 168 feet to their death when the scaffolding they were working on collapsed.

An electrician working on the plant told the *Militant*: "There's only twenty-seven levels of cement blocks up there now. Thursday morning [April 27] there were twenty-eight. The entire twenty-eighth layer of blocks caved in."

"The scaffold the men were working

on, and the net attached to the scaffold, fell with the blocks.

"When some of the blocks started to break, men ran around the top level of blocks, but they all fell in. I looked up and there was no net and no workers. 'It's clear what happened,' he said. 'The company tried to speed up the deadline for completing the project.'"

Research Cottrell Inc., the New Jersey construction firm that is building the tower for Monongahela Power Company, insists it has no idea what caused the "accident." A company spokesperson told the press, "It's a complete mystery to us."

For construction workers here there is no mystery at all. The workers were ordered back on the scaffold just eighteen hours after the concrete for the twenty-eighth level of the tower had been poured. Usually the time lapse is at least twenty-four hours.

The cement was not adequately hardened to support the weight of the scaffold and the men working on it.

Concrete should be white and glossy when properly hardened. Darrell Bailey of St. Mary's, West Virginia, was working a hundred yards from the tower. "The damn concrete was gray [Thursday]," he said. "They shouldn't have moved that scaffolding up. I guess they just wanted production and that's what they got."

Other workers said they had been sent up to work before while newly poured cement was "green"—not fully hardened. They were afraid of being fired if they refused. "If a man don't go up there, he might not have a job," one worker said.

Four people had already been killed at this construction site since the \$660 million coal-fired generating plant was begun five years ago.

Earlier inspections by the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) revealed many safety violations. Among those cited since September 1975 were such hazards as working on scaffolds without lifelines or safety belts, and unguarded floor openings. The company was fined a mere \$5,500.

The site had not been inspected since April 1977. The cooling tower itself was never inspected after Research

Cottrell began work on it.

The day after the disaster, three teams of OSHA inspectors arrived and promised a full investigation. They said they would investigate concrete-pouring practices, hoisting procedures, and structural design.

But they haven't said a word about investigating Monongahela Power Company's speedup drive.

In discussions with the *Militant*, townspeople here expressed little faith in OSHA's motives or promises.

"OSHA never did anything when a similar 'accident' killed the Wilson boy when he was working on the old power plant," one person said. "Now that fifty-one have been killed, they feel they have to come in."

## A deadly industry

Construction, especially heavy construction, is one of the most hazardous industries in the country.

In 1975, according to OSHA figures, 970 construction workers were killed on the job.

The industry employed 6 percent of the private-sector work force. But it accounted for 10 percent of all work injuries and 20 percent of all fatalities!

Usually construction workers—like coal miners—die one or two at a time, hardly noticed by the news media.

The slaughter in West Virginia has put a national spotlight on speedup and unsafe conditions in the industry. But it's a safe bet that once the dead are buried, so will be the story of how safety is sacrificed to the contractors' pursuit of profits.

And the big-business news media—when they mention construction workers at all—will quickly return to their usual themes of condemning "restrictive" union work rules and "unreasonable" safety regulations.



Cooling towers for Monongahela Power Company plant.

## ...socialist hits 'murder for profit'

Continued from front page

The bosses tell us that "accidents happen." That the work is just "naturally" hazardous. Or that "carelessness" by the workers themselves is the problem.

These are callous and cynical lies.

With the advances of modern technology and engineering, virtually any job could be made safe. But safety stands in the way of profits. That is the real reason the hideous industrial slaughter goes on.

The giant corporations that rule this country have fought every safety law and regulation ever proposed. They hide and falsify injury records, bribe doctors, and blackmail workers with threats of layoffs or firing if safety is required.

Only mass pressure from workers and our unions has won the meager safeguards on the books today. Only mass pressure can make the government enforce them.

The Democratic and Republican politicians simply follow orders from the corporations. They are quick to complain of "violence" whenever workers go on strike. But the killings at Willow Island show where the real industrial violence comes from.

One of the top issues in the recent coal strike, for example, was the mine-owners' demand to restrict the power

of union safety committees and to penalize workers who strike over unsafe working conditions.

Today Governor Rockefeller and the other Democrats and Republicans are shedding crocodile tears over fifty-one workers killed. But where were they when coal miners were fighting for safety? They were on the side of the coal bosses, trying to break the miners' strike.

That's why working people need to break with these two capitalist parties and launch a mass labor party based on the power of our unions.

The Socialist Workers Party stood on the side of the miners—just as we stand with workers everywhere fighting to protect their lives, jobs, and wages.

We demand strengthening and strict enforcement of safety laws. Massive fines and long jail sentences could make corporate executives think twice about trampling on safety standards.

The SWP supports the right of any worker to leave an unsafe job—without penalty or loss of pay. We support the right of union safety committees to shut down production when they, not the boss, decide it is unsafe. And we defend the unconditional right of workers to strike.

The Socialist Workers Party believes that to guarantee job safety workers



Militant/Bill Hovland  
ROSALINDA FLINT, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from West Virginia.

will find it necessary to take industry out of the hands of the private-profit owners.

Only when the working class democratically plans and controls production for human need—not for profit—can we halt industrial murder once and for all.

That's what the SWP stands for. And that is the message I will be taking to working people across West Virginia in my campaign.

# Mass. socialists challenge disclosure law

By Alta Starr

BOSTON—An April 24 press conference called by the Socialist Workers Party campaign here made the front page of the *Boston Globe* and received wide coverage in the local TV and radio news. The socialists announced their candidates for the statewide elections and reported progress on their suit to win exemption from a Massachusetts law requiring disclosure of the names of campaign contributors.

Lisa Potash, SWP candidate for governor, blasted the disclosure laws: "We refuse to hand over a ready-made enemies list of our campaign contributors to the government, which it would use to harass, to intimidate, and to get people fired from jobs and evicted from apartments."

The other socialist candidates—Gerald Cohen for lieutenant-governor, Nelson González for state senator, and Linda Franklin for state representative—joined Potash in condemning the undemocratic election law.

The SWP has also filed a national suit now pending in federal courts. This suit seeks the socialists' exemption from federal laws requiring disclosure of names of campaign supporters. The socialists have introduced as evidence the numerous admissions by the FBI and other spy agencies that they have systematically hounded supporters of SWP campaigns through burglaries, wiretapping, surveillance, and other means.

State legal precedents have been set in Minnesota and Wisconsin. The Minnesota State Ethics Commission exempted the SWP from the state disclosure law. In Wisconsin, a federal district court granted a permanent injunction against prosecution of the SWP for failure to disclose names of campaign supporters. In both cases these steps were taken only after public legal battles by the socialists.

When the Massachusetts socialists refused to disclose names of contributors to their 1977 campaign, the state moved to enforce the law. However, the state agreed not to press forward with charges if federal Judge Arthur Garrity agreed to hear the socialists' disclosure case. A preliminary hearing on the suit was held April 24 at which Garrity ruled that the case does belong in federal court.

The shoe is now on the other foot. The SWP is now the plaintiff in a federal, not a state, case seeking a declaratory injunction against Massachusetts to protect the party's supporters and build its campaign.

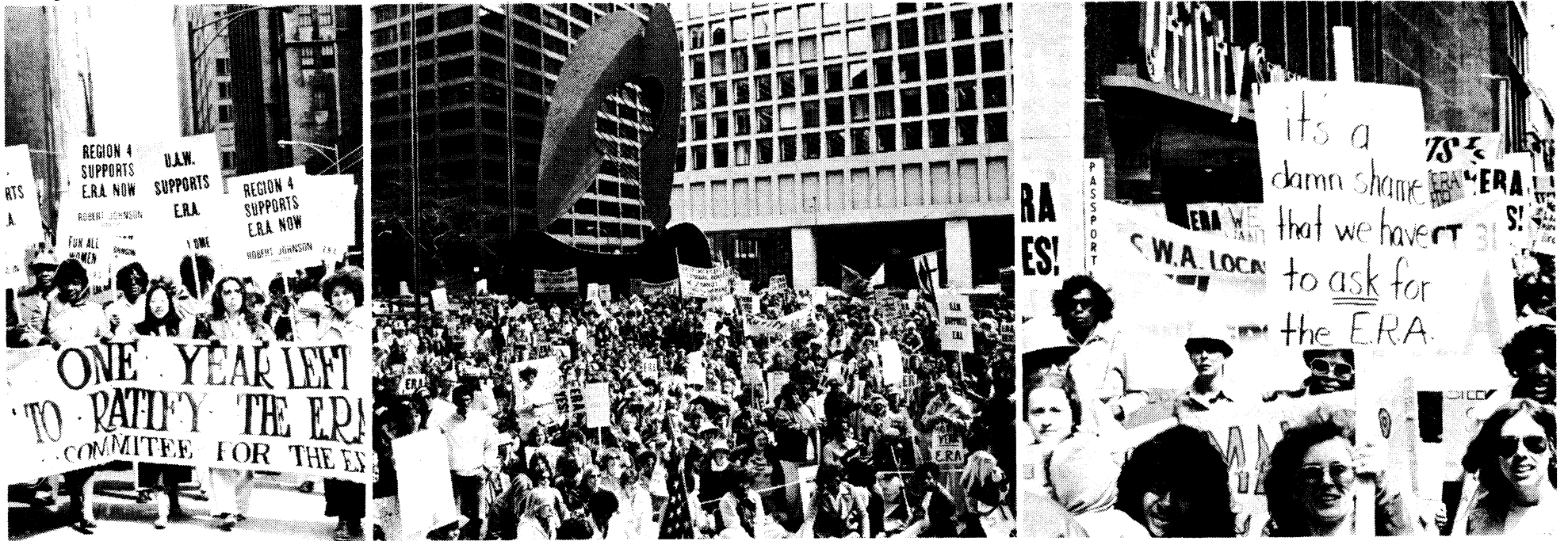
Statements of support for the socialists' disclosure fight have come from Barbara Ackerman, Democratic candidate for governor, and Andrew Good of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Good noted that "the SWP has been subjected to sweeping and systematic government harassment and surveillance for the past thirty years. Because contributors to the SWP have faced government harassment, many people who would otherwise do so are reluctant to financially support the party, knowing that their names are to be publicly disclosed."

Pledging to push forward her party's fight against the undemocratic disclosure laws, Potash said, "All must have the right to freely participate in the elections without fear."

**On to July 9 march on Washington!**

# 2,500 in Chicago march for ratification of



Militant photos by Nancy Cohen and Charles Ostrofsky

**By Randi Lawrence**

CHICAGO—Chanting, "Equal work for equal pay, ratify the ERA" and, "Out of the kitchens, into the streets! Illinois women can't be beat," 2,500 people marched through Chicago's downtown and rallied at the Daley Civic Center April 29 to demand immediate passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in this state.

Illinois is one of the three more states needed to ratify the ERA. The amendment is due to come up in the state legislature in May.

Contingents in the march—initiated by the Chicago Committee for the ERA—represented many of the almost 100 labor, student, feminist, Black, and community groups that endorsed the event.

Labor participation was the broadest seen here since the May 16, 1976, ERA march on Springfield, Illinois. It marked the growing opportunities to mobilize trade unionists in the equal rights struggle.

Region 4 of the United Auto Workers union had a contingent of about fifty people, most of them Black women. They inspired the crowd throughout the day, shouting, "Auto workers say ERA now!"

James Wright, assistant director of UAW Region 4, brought formal greetings to the rally. He called for more such actions, led by the labor movement, and encouraged everyone to attend a rally for the ERA in Springfield called by the United Auto Workers.

Naomi Ross, president of Illinois NOW, urged the crowd to come to NOW's national march for the ERA in Washington, D.C., on July 9. She called for support to House Joint Resolution 638, which would extend the deadline for ratification of the ERA

beyond March 1979.

Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from Illinois and a member of United Steelworkers Local 65, also urged continuing action for the ERA:

"We are not asking for any gifts. The ERA is our right, and our rights are not negotiable," Grogan said. "What we have to do is take our political power and put it into the streets of Washington, D.C., on July 9—in such a powerful way that we cannot be ignored. We have to start tomorrow to build support for the July 9 actions. No one has ever given us anything we didn't fight for."

Rev. Willie Barrow, representing Operation PUSH, emphasized the importance of the ERA to Black women. "If you recognize women as human," she challenged Illinois politicians, "then legalize us; put us in the Constitution."

Millie Thomas, a Black student from Austin Branch High School, pointed to the special importance of the ERA to young women. "Our future depends on it," she declared. "High school students need to be out marching more. This is the only way we're going to get our equality and the only way women are going to win ERA."

Students had a large contingent in the march.

And about sixty women and men from District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America donned hardhats and District 31 Women's Caucus t-shirts for the action. "We demand full rights for women," one of their banners declared.

Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) marched with their banner, and CLUW Vice-president Clara Day spoke at the rally.

A feeder march joined the action

from another rally, commemorating the Haymarket martyrs.

Women's groups from all over Illinois and the Midwest came to the action. Banners and signs proclaimed support for the ERA from the National Council of Negro Women, League of Women Voters, several NOW chapters, Mujeres Latinas, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, Lesbians for ERA, Disabled Feminists Organization, Women for Peace, and DuPage Housewives.

Car caravans brought people from many states, including Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, and even from

Arkansas and Texas.

The demonstration was the third and largest action organized by the Chicago Committee for the ERA in the past year. Christina Adachi, the committee's program director, explained the action's purpose—one certainly accomplished:

"We are here to demonstrate our support for ERA and to show that we are the majority. We are here to send a loud and clear message to Springfield that full equality for women is long overdue. We want ERA passed, and we want it passed now!"

## More to come...

• For information on the **July-9 ERA march on Washington** call the National Organization for Women (202) 347-2279.

• **California:** San Francisco NOW is sponsoring a picket line in defense of abortion rights May 10 at noon at city hall, and a day for the ERA on May 13, gathering at 1234 Fifth Avenue.

• **Florida:** An ERA motorcade planned by the Human Rights Ad Hoc Committee will leave Key West from the county courthouse at 4 p.m. May 11, making stops in Miami, Orlando, Ft. Myers, and St. Petersburg. In Gainesville on May 13 they will march from Florida Track to Downtown Plaza at 4 p.m. for a 6 p.m. rally. In Tallahassee ERA supporters will gather at 9 a.m. on May

15 at the Mansion lawn and go to the Old Capitol steps for a rally.

• **Detroit:** NOW's minority women's committee will hold a May 13 conference at Marygrove College, 8425 West McNichols.

• **New York City:** NOW will hold a teach-in on the ERA and deadline extension on May 13, 1:00 p.m., at 27 Barrow Street (near Sheridan Square).

• **Newark:** NOW rally for the ERA will be held May 13, 1:00 p.m. at Essex County College's Mary Burch Auditorium.

• **Philadelphia:** NOW and the National Abortion Rights Action League are cosponsoring a showing of "The Trial" on May 13, 1:00 p.m., at TLA, 334 South Street, two-dollar donation.

## Steelworkers: 'ERA will also strengthen labor'

**By Carolyn Jasin**

CHICAGO—Some sixty women and men representing United Steelworkers of America (USWA) took part in the April 29 ERA demonstration here.

James Balanoff, USWA District 31 director, spoke at the rally and introduced Pat Cecil, Local 65 Women's Committee cochairperson at U.S. Steel South Works, the largest steel local in Illinois.

"In basic steel, we have equal pay for equal work. But that is a small portion of what ERA is all about," said

Cecil. "We still face discrimination in all sorts of forms. Women haven't been in basic steel very long, and we have problems, and they hurt. So we are here for our voices to be heard."

ERA supporters worked hard to get steelworkers to the demonstration. Balanoff sent a letter to all District 31 locals explaining, "The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment will not only benefit working women, but will also strengthen the labor movement in fighting for fair treatment and decent conditions for all working people. . . .

"I urge you to join in supporting this rally, pass resolutions of endorsement in your local, and to encourage your membership to participate in the labor contingent."

Local 65 members not only voted endorsement of the action, they chartered a bus. They printed and distributed a leaflet at plant gates. The local's newsletter carried an ad for the march.

Local 1033 at Republic Steel and Local 1010 at Inland Steel endorsed the action and donated \$150 and \$100 respectively to help defray organizing costs.

The District 31 Women's Caucus called on its supporters to demonstrate for the ERA.

Doreen Labby, caucus newsletter editor and member of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel-Gary, commented after the demonstration, "It is important for women steelworkers to get involved in

politics outside of the mill, since our fight inside the mill has got to be reflected and backed up by the general population."

April 29 was the first march for Donna Strvblecki and Deborah Junk, members of Local 1033 at Republic Steel. Both are originally from Iowa. "Being out on a farm in the country, you don't get too involved," they told the *Militant*. "After working two years in the mills, we see this as the only way to get our rights."

Asked what she thought of the day's events, Christine Kimbrough of Local 1010 at Inland Steel said that her sign summed up her feelings: "It is a damn shame that we have to ask for the ERA."

*Carolyn Jasin is a member of the women's committee of United Steelworkers of America Local 1033.*



# the ERA



## Campuses send big contingent

By Robin Trilling

CHICAGO—The Committee for the ERA worked hard to make the Equal Rights Amendment an issue on campuses this spring. As a result, on April 29 about 500 students from various high schools and colleges took part in a campus contingent led by Boy Scout Troop 1151 from Schiller Grammer School.

Margaret Beatty, campus coordinator of the Committee for the ERA explained, "Thirty schools were contacted and leaflets were distributed. We received many out-of-state phone calls, and from as far away as Kent State in Ohio."

Many campus women's groups had been planning their participation in the rally for two or three months. At the University of Chicago they showed the film "How We Got the Vote" and heard a speaker from the Committee for the ERA. The University of Illinois Circle Women's Liberation Union sponsored a forum on abortion, affirmative action, and the ERA.

As a result of discussions held in a history class in Harlem High School, an all-Black school in Chicago, a group of students came with their teacher.

The women's unions on campuses were not the only groups that organized support for the rally. Banners included those of Medical Students for the ERA, Northwestern Law School, Young Socialist Alliance, American Association of University Women, and Lords High School.

Millie Thomas, a Black student from Austin Branch High School, told the rally, "I am glad we're here today, and I'm glad that other students are here. . . . This is the way we've developed power being Black, and this is the way women are going to win the ERA!"

## Woman's Evolution

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By Evelyn Reed

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# Ernest Mandel arrives in U.S.

By Peter Archer

After a seven-year battle, the American people have finally won the right to hear noted Belgian Marxist scholar Ernest Mandel. Mandel, author of the well-known books *Marxist Economic Theory*, and *Late Capitalism*, is a leader of the world Trotskyist movement.

Mandel addressed a crowd of 300 students at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, May 1. The meeting was sponsored by the university's Center for International Studies.

In 1969 Mandel was invited to this country to debate Harvard Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith. He was also asked to speak at a number of prestigious East Coast universities. But despite widespread protests by the academic community, then-Attorney General John Mitchell refused Mandel's request for a visa.

Mandel was excluded under the provisions of the notorious McCarran-Walter Act, a product of the 1950s witch-hunt. Mitchell's use of the act to ban Mandel from speaking was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1972.

In 1976 Mandel was again invited to the United States, this time to teach two classes at Stanford University for the spring quarter. But the Ford administration refused him entry.

Mandel was invited earlier this year

to speak at a number of universities. Before his visa was granted, faculty members at U-Mass Amherst, Amherst College, and Bennington College, among others, sent telegrams to the State Department demanding that the government stop interfering with the right of U.S. citizens to hear all points of view.

A State Department source said the case was being decided "at a high

level" and remarked that "these cases are always sensitive."

The visa was formally granted Wednesday, April 26.

Mandel will be speaking at the University of Washington in Seattle May 13 in a panel discussion lasting from 9:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. in the Seattle Center Olympic Room. He will also be at Bennington College in Vermont the week of May 15-20.



**From Class Society to Communism**

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By Ernest Mandel

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## Stalinist betrayal on Canal pact

By José G. Pérez

If any doubts had remained about the real purpose of the Panama Canal treaties, they should have been dispelled by the notorious DeConcini reservation. This rider—which the U.S. Senate attached to the treaties it recently approved—gives the United States the "right" to send the marines into Panama any time the U.S. claims the canal is being "interfered with."

But one important group on the American Left, the pro-Moscow Communist Party, refuses to admit that the treaties seek to perpetuate U.S. domination of Panama. The CP's newspaper, the *Daily World*, hailed ratification of the treaties—even with the DeConcini reservation—as "a victory of good sense and a setback for the right in the U.S."

To justify this wretched position, the CP uses several false or misleading arguments. For example, they claim the majority of Panamanians support the treaties.

It is true that the Panamanian dictator, Gen. Omar Torrijos, claimed a two-thirds majority in the treaty referendum he staged last October. But Torrijos, who has absolute control over Panama's mass media, misrepresented the treaties as meaning an eventual end to U.S. interference in Panama.

By April 14, the *New York Times* reported from Panama, "more people have become aware of the contents of the treaties, which grant the United States extensive rights to defend the canal after the year 2000 in language only marginally less explicit than the DeConcini reservation. As a result opposition has grown."

The *Daily World* claims that "thousands of people poured into the streets of Panama City" April 18 to celebrate the final Senate vote.

But an April 19 dispatch in the pro-treaties *New York Times* explained: "To insure some celebration of the long-awaited treaties last night, the Government set off firecrackers, sounded sirens and handed out free liquor. . . . Government workers were kept in their offices until after the Senate vote and then marched in groups to nearby plazas."

The day after the Senate vote, four

major Panamanian political parties issued a "manifesto to the nation" that said the treaties would be null and void without a new plebiscite because their language was different from that voted on last October. Torrijos's refusal to hold a new referendum, as required by Panama's constitution, is strong testimony that he doesn't believe the majority of Panamanians support the pact.

Another major argument used by the CP to justify backing the treaties is that they are opposed by "the most militarist, racist and chauvinist sectors" of the American political spectrum. But what about such notorious reactionaries as William F. Buckley and John Wayne, who backed the treaties?

Moreover, the top U.S. ruling-class political and military strategists—people such as Henry Kissinger and the Joint Chiefs of Staff—solidly supported the pact. By concentrating all their fire on right-wing opponents of the treaties, the CP lets the ruling class off the hook.

The Henry Kissingers and Cyrus Vances are the ones who gave us the Vietnam War, and who would send us to die in a new Vietnam—under the guise of defending the canal's neutrality—if use of force becomes necessary to preserve U.S. domination of Panama.

The CP goes even further with its defeat-the-Reaganites argument. For example, the April 14 *Daily World* claimed that "reactionary forces in both the U.S. and Panama have mounted a drive against the treaties." (Emphasis added.)

It is a vicious slander to equate the Panamanian patriots fighting to regain control of their homeland with defenders of imperialist domination such as Ronald Reagan. The fact that the Stalinists sink to such slanders is an indication of how weak their position is.

As for the *real* Panamanian reactionaries, beginning with Torrijos, they do support the treaties. After describing mounting demands for a new plebiscite, the April 20 *Washington Post* (which, like the *Times* and the

*Daily World*, endorsed ratification) reports: "Two very important groups, however, the [Panamanian] Communist Party and the conservative business community, are quietly supporting the treaties. . . ."

The *Daily World* also misrepresents what the treaties say. The April 20 issue claims the treaties "will end the U.S. colonial enclave in Panama . . . within 30 months."

But fully 85 percent of the Canal Zone will remain under U.S. control, used either for operating the canal or for U.S. military bases.

The *Daily World* also reports favorably on the last-minute rider "forewarning U.S. intervention in Panama's internal affairs," as the *DW* puts it. But even the sponsors of the rider presented it openly and cynically as window dressing to placate Panamanian outrage at the DeConcini reservation. And anyone who believes American imperialism's promises of nonintervention should be editing fairy tales, not a newspaper that claims to be Marxist.

Why then does the Communist Party support such a transparent fraud? The basic reason is that the Stalinists here and in Panama support Torrijos. They want him to stay in power. They claim he is leading a "revolutionary process."

But Torrijos hasn't expropriated the giant foreign monopolies. He hasn't led a movement to drive the U.S. imperialists out of Panama. He supports *capitalism* in Panama, not socialism.

But in the eyes of the CP, he's done something a thousand times more important—he has improved Panama's relations with the Soviet Union and other bureaucratized workers states.

In traditional Stalinist fashion, the Communist Party is ready to sacrifice the interests of working people here and around the world to whatever penny-ante diplomatic advantage is being sought by Moscow. For the Stalinists, the rights of the Panamanian people count for nothing when weighed against some momentary gain for the Soviet bureaucracy.



# NY: 2,000 rally to save York College



Black and Latino students have been the main victims of New York educational cutbacks.

By Jerry Gardner

NEW YORK—On April 26, 2,000 students, faculty, campus workers, and community activists marched and rallied in a demonstration to save York College. A part of the City University of New York (CUNY), York is a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican college in the Jamaica section of Queens.

The demonstration was sparked by newspaper reports that a soon-to-be released CUNY master plan would call for York College to be either closed altogether or reduced to a two-year community college.

This threat to close York College is the most recent in a long series of attacks against the education of youth, particularly Black and Puerto Rican youth, in New York City. Open admissions have been eliminated, faculty slashed, and needed funds drastically reduced. Previously an attempt had been made to close Hostos College, another CUNY school.

Chanting, "What do we want? Four years," and, "Hell, no, we won't go,"

the spirited march proceeded from York College to Borough Hall, seat of the local government. Prominent in the march were placards from District Council 37, which represents York campus workers.

At Borough Hall a rally was held, sponsored by the Jamaica NAACP. CUNY Chancellor Robert Kibbe, responsible for the master plan, was meeting inside at the time but refused to address the rally. Kibbe maintains "there are no compelling educational reasons to build York." This view was refuted by speakers at the rally, who pointed to the need for more, not less, educational facilities. Speakers also mentioned the importance of York to the entire Jamaica community.

Among the many speakers were David Byron, president of the Jamaica NAACP; William Lucas, Urban League; Ted Willington, York Student Senate; Carlos Moll, editor of *El Cique*, a campus paper; Rev. Timothy Mitchell; Milton Bassin, York College president; and Donald Manes, Queens Borough president.

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## SF anti-'Bakke' march

# 'We won't go back to Jim Crow'

By Rick Reaves

SAN FRANCISCO—Chanting, "Supreme Court, listen to the nation; No such thing as reverse discrimination," and, "We won't go back to Jim Crow," more than 2,500 people marched and rallied here against the *Bakke* decision on April 29.

The march, which went through parts of the Black and Latino communities, culminated in a rally at Dolores Park in the Mission District.

It was sponsored and built by the April 29 Coalition, which was initiated by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision. The NCOBD sponsored the anti-*Bakke* march of 10,000 in Washington, D.C., April 15.

More than sixty Bay Area organizations participated in the demonstration, as well as several hundred people from Los Angeles and Sacramento. The contingents, largely Latino and Asian, came from a variety of community organizations and campuses.

Labor contingents from Retail Clerks Union Local 1100, Longshore Workers locals 6 and 10, Service Employees locals 400 and 616, along with participants from the American Federation of Teachers and the Teamsters were also present.

Among the other organizations participating were the Union of Democratic Filipinos, Northern California Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Labor Party, and the Iranian Students Association.

Robert Allen, co-editor of the *Black Scholar*, spoke at the rally. "Qualifications" has become the code word for a new racism in America," he said.

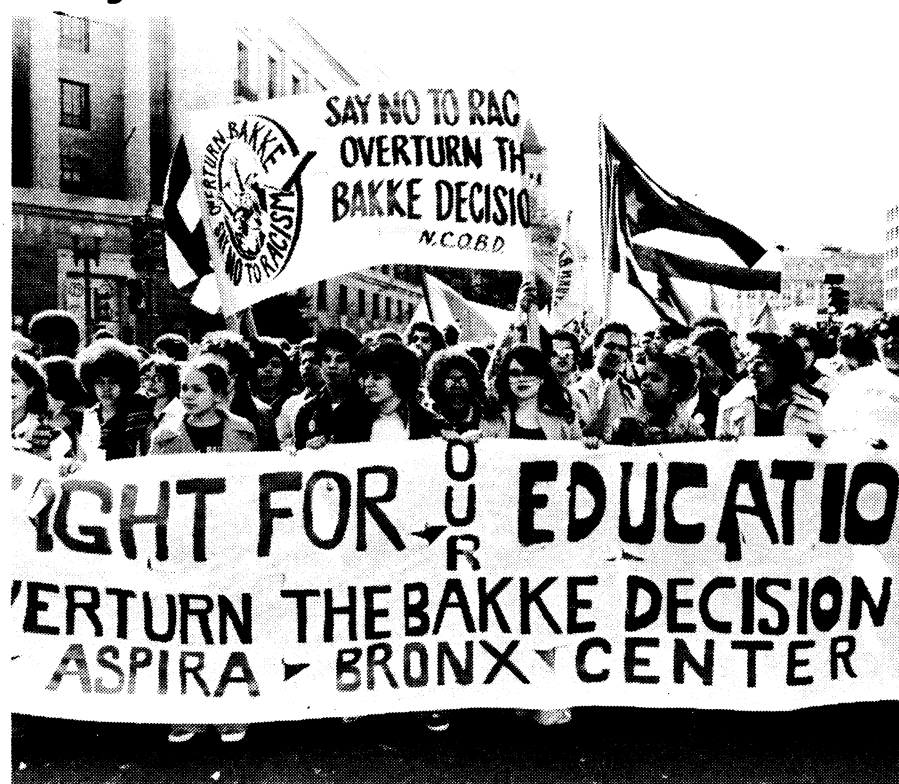
Allen cited statistics that expose the argument of "reverse discrimination." "Minorities comprise 30 percent of the California population but are only 4 percent of the doctors in California. And less than 6 percent of the undergraduates at U.C. Berkeley are minority students."

Grantland Johnson, cocordinator of NCOBD, stated that a broad movement "to fight the current attacks on minorities and on women must be built."

Other speakers included Antonio Rodriguez from CASA, actor Paul Winfield, American Indian Movement leader Syd Welsh, Linda Ferguson from the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Melinda Paras of the Union of Democratic Filipinos, and Prosper Takiwira from the Zimbabwe African National Union.

The April 29 rally was built in coordination with the April 15 march organized by NCOBD in Washington. Another march and rally against the *Bakke* decision will occur in San Francisco on May 13. This action, sponsored by the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition, will begin with a march from Garfield Park to the San Francisco federal building. The rally will feature as speakers Robert F. Williams and Philip Vera Cruz, former vice-president of the United Farm Workers.

## May 6 antiracist conference



Militant/Lou Howort

NEW YORK CITY—Just back from the 10,000-strong April 15 march on Washington, activists here will hold a "Conference on the Struggle Against Racism" on May 6. The April 15 march was called by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision (NCOBD).

Sponsored by the New York City Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision, the May 6 conference will feature speakers and entertainment. Workshops will discuss such topics as racism in education, racism in employment, and women and affirmative action.

In the conference call, Dennis Serrette, a leader of New York

NCOBD, hailed the April 15 anti-*Bakke* march as "a tremendous success." "Thousands of people from all over the country demolished the cynical notion that the 'struggle is dead' by heeding our call to unite against racism," he said.

"As we said on April 15, our march must be more than a protest demonstration, it must also be a vehicle for getting more people involved in the continuing struggle against racism."

The day-long conference will begin at 9:30 a.m. at Joan of Arc Jr. High School, 154 West Ninety-Third Street in New York City.

# 'Bakke' and UC Davis

## AFT local exposes school's racist policy

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—Allan Bakke is a thirty-seven-year-old white engineer who sued the University of California. He claimed the special admissions program for oppressed nationalities at the UC Davis Medical School discriminated against his application for admission.

The California State Supreme Court upheld Bakke's contention, and the case is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Since the California decision, the *Bakke* case has emerged as the focal point in the battle to defend affirmative action.

The UC Davis special admissions program allotted 16 out of the 100 places for entering students each year to Blacks, Chicanos, Asian-Americans, and other oppressed minorities. The students who had fought for the program viewed it as a victory in the fight to force the university to accept more minority students, not only through the special admissions program but in the regular admissions program as well.

But when the case went to court, the university's defense of the special admissions program was weak. The school refused to acknowledge the previous discrimination that had made the program necessary.

Judge Stanley Mosk later said that the outcome of the case might have been different had the university admitted past discrimination.

Recent information released by American Federation of Teachers Local 2023 at Davis exposes why the university wouldn't take a strong stand in defense of the special admissions program.

*UC Davis was using the special admissions program to place strict limits on the number of Black students admitted into the school.*

Local 2023 President Paul Goodman, in a February 15 letter to the university, charged: "Until the Fall 1977, Davis Medical School admissions procedures routinely denied black applicants consideration under regular admission procedures. All applications from academically competitive blacks

were automatically sent to special admissions. . . . Its purpose, of course, was to reduce the number of blacks who otherwise might be admitted under regular admissions."

### Quota against Blacks

"In short," the letter continued, "we believe that the Davis Medical School has attempted to apply a quota of sorts to minimize black admissions. . . ."

In an interview with the *Militant*, Goodman explained how thoroughly the Davis Medical School excluded Blacks.

"The university has admitted that only two Blacks have been accepted since 1970 under the regular admissions." And, he said, there is some question as to whether they are Afro-Americans, according to comments made by the current chairperson of the admissions committee at the medical school.

When somebody asked her at a public forum if the two Blacks admitted were from the U.S. she said they were Black and where they were from "was of no concern" to the university.

"Two Blacks in seven or eight years is hardly a great record," Goodman said. "It seems to me that if this is the best the university can come up with then it really is tacitly admitting that it has been discriminating."

Goodman said that Davis is not the only medical school in California applying these techniques against Blacks and Chicanos.

"We have heard from two students who were members of the admissions committee of the school of dentistry at UC medical school in San Francisco. They say Chicanos were similarly denied admission except through special admissions."

"A former employee in the admissions office at the school of medicine said the administration applied a quota on the number of minorities throughout the 1960s."

The employee reported there were ten Asian-Americans, ten women, a limited but unspecified number of Jews, and two Blacks admitted per year.

"This is a quota system set up to exclude minorities," Goodman said.



Militant/Wayne Glover

The few Black students who manage to get into medical school are victims of racist treatment from professors and the administration.

In his letter to UC's General Counsel Donald Reidhaar, Goodman says, "The students complain of chronic widespread hostility by faculty that manifests itself in the use of racial slurs and epithets in public discourse, and more seriously, in discriminatory practices in grading and in the treatment of students in academic difficulty."

"The Legal Aid Society of Sacramento County," Goodman continues, "alleges that administrators and faculty of the School of Medicine have imposed disciplinary measures upon minority students with more frequency and severity than those imposed on white students . . . ; that minority students are punished for alleged offenses which go unpunished if committed by white students; that grading procedures have been manipulated in ways which discriminate against minority students."

"What you have now before the U.S. Supreme Court is a very defective record that really does not describe what actually goes on at Davis," Goodman charged.

Racist opponents of affirmative action programs call for a return to the "merit system," under which all things are supposedly equal and students compete for admission or jobs on the basis of some objective criteria applicable to all.

Goodman punched holes in this argument as well.

"That argument assumes that meritocratic standards prevailed prior to the introduction of affirmative action. The pro-Bakke people argue that there once was a time when there was equal access, simply on the basis of grade point average or certain other clearly defined academic prerequisites."

"But that was never true."

### Class bias

"Moreover, there is the question of the whole economic discrimination against low-income people. The class bias in recruiting students into medical school is so clear that medical education has never really been equally accessible."

"Medical school Dean John Tupper

has reversed the regular admissions committee in order to admit the sons of prominent California political and medical figures."

Goodman said that even after Tupper's actions were made public and top university officials made aware of them, "he continued to intervene on behalf of white applicants denied admission through regular channels."

An April 23 article in the *New York Times* pointed out that Tupper was not alone. The article cites the admission of Ramona Mrak to UC Davis. Medical school officials admitted that her scores were more than thirty points below the level required for admission.

At the time she was admitted, Mrak's father-in-law was a top administrator at the school.

### Debate in AFT

The discussion then turned to the debate within the American Federation of Teachers on the *Bakke* case. AFT President Albert Shanker—a bitter opponent of affirmative action—has had the union file a friend-of-the-court brief in support of Allan Bakke.

But at the AFT convention last August, more than one fourth of the delegates voted to reverse this position and withdraw the brief.

This significant opposition to Shanker's policies was led by the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education and the AFT Black Caucus.

The California Federation of Teachers voted at its state convention to file a brief in support of the special admissions program.

Goodman said Local 2023 had sent Shanker copies of its letters to UC Davis. The teachers received no response.

The *Militant* asked Goodman if he thought the new information on the racist policies of UC Davis might be considered at the coming AFT convention.

"I certainly think so," he replied. "I think if people understood the reality of the medical school and other professional and graduate school admissions—the reality that historic patterns of discrimination against women, racial and ethnic minorities have been characteristic, and that it still goes on—that people would understand why there is a need for special admissions."

## Affirmative action for the rich

By Omari Musa

The best way to get into graduate school is to simply buy a place—according to a rash of articles appearing in the newspapers lately.

Take the Chicago Medical School. Between 1970 and 1973 it raked in nearly \$11 million from contributions received in the names of 270 of the 349 entering freshmen.

Pasquale DeMarco pledged \$40,000 to the school, for example. He was admitted and then sued for breach of contract when he was expelled before he received a diploma. DeMarco won his diploma.

Or take the case of Joseph D. Conti, III. He was admitted to the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia after being turned down by at least three schools. An \$11,000 payment made to Herbert Fineman, then speaker of the lower house of the Pennsylvania state legislature, helped. The lower house votes funds to finance Jefferson.

Fineman was charged with accepting \$56,000 to obtain places for students at Jefferson, University of Pennsylvania School of Veterinary Medicine, and the Philadelphia College of Osteopathic Medicine.

According to an April 23 article in the *New York Times*, Henry Cianfrani, who was chairman of the

Pennsylvania state senate, was persuaded to "plead guilty in December to 106 counts of racketeering, mail fraud and bribery for selling graduate school places, among other things." Cianfrani is doing five years in prison.

Then there is UC Davis, where Allan Bakke said he couldn't get into medical school because the special-admissions programs there "discriminated" against him.

The former admissions officer at Davis, Dr. George Lowry, admitted—according to the *Times*—that "he had received a number of offers of money and automobiles if he would 'guide' the applications of certain students."

Not to be left out is the "new South." At Atlanta's Emory University "the children of alumni, trustees, professors, friends of the school, and legislators are given special consideration in the admissions process," the *Times* reports.

Of course, if you come from a working-class family—especially if you're Black, Chicano, or Asian—and you can't promise a few thousand dollars along with your admissions application, you don't get quite the same "consideration." That would be "reverse discrimination."



# Pa. socialists campaign for abortion rights

By Bruce Bloy

PHILADELPHIA—Women's rights are under serious attack in this state.

The legislature has passed a resolution making Pennsylvania one of eleven states favoring a constitutional convention to take away abortion rights.

Right-wing forces are mobilizing to demand that the legislature's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment be rescinded.

And a bill is now pending to cut off state medicaid payments for abortion.

"I intend to fight this offensive against women's rights by the Democratic and Republican politicians,"

says Naomi Berman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant-governor. Berman is a secretary at the University of Pennsylvania. An activist in the women's liberation movement for more than a decade, she is a member of the National Organization for Women.

Berman is running on a slate with Pittsburgh steelworker Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor, and Ben Bailey, candidate for U.S. Congress from the Second District.

Berman points out that attacks on women's rights are not limited to Pennsylvania. That's why she is working to publicize the national demon-

stration for the ERA called by NOW for July 9 in Washington, D.C.

"Women need to join with our allies in the labor movement and among oppressed minorities to demand that we get equal rights now," Berman says. "We need a large, independent women's movement if we are to be successful."

Ben Bailey is a twenty-six-year-old Black elementary school teacher and member of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). He says that cut-backs statewide are hitting the Black community hardest.

"They've closed Philadelphia General Hospital, which was the only hospital that served poor people in the city. They've cut public transportation, and what's left is more expensive.

"And now they tell us that they don't have any money and are going to cut back even more."

The Philadelphia Board of Education, for example, plans to lay off thousands of teachers, eliminate class-size limits, and do away with music, art, and physical education programs. "If the cuts are carried out," Bailey says, "education in Philadelphia will be totally destroyed. There will be little left but empty buildings.

"If I were in Congress," Bailey says, "I would push to eliminate the \$126 billion war budget. That money could be used for a massive public works program to provide useful jobs for the unemployed, building schools and other things our cities need.

"For example," says Bailey, "there is a critical housing shortage in Philadelphia, yet there are more than 100,000 abandoned buildings here. A public works program could restore those



Militant/Bruce Bloy

**BEN BAILEY: 'Eliminate war budget to create massive public works program.'**

buildings and provide low-cost housing to thousands of Philadelphia working people."

To win these things, Berman and Bailey explain, working people need a party of their own. "A party that will act in our interests," says Berman, "not in the interests of big steel, auto, or coal—like the Democratic and Republican parties do.

"In place of these big-business parties, we need an independent labor party based on a militant trade-union movement."

A vote for the SWP in Pennsylvania, say the two socialists, is a vote for that fighting perspective.

## Help put SWP on ballot

Pennsylvania ballot laws are among the most restrictive in the country. In order to put the names of Mark Zola for governor and Naomi Berman for lieutenant-governor on the ballot, more than 29,000 valid signatures of registered voters must be collected. An additional 2,000 valid signatures are required to put Ben Bailey's name on the ballot in Philadelphia's Second Congressional District.

Commenting on the undemocratic nature of these laws, Bailey said, "These regulations take away a basic constitutional right—the right of people to know the positions of all the candidates and to vote for the candidate of their choice."

Berman added, "The rulers of this country would rather people not know about the Socialist Workers Party. But we intend to be heard. We will collect more than 42,000 signatures in May and June to ensure that our ideas are heard."

The Socialist Workers Campaign plans a major petitioning effort to put Zola, Berman, and Bailey on the ballot. Petitioning will begin on May 13 and will continue through June 10. If you can help, contact the campaign headquarters in Philadelphia at 218 South Forty-fifth Street, telephone (215) 387-2451, or in Pittsburgh at 5504 Penn Avenue, telephone (412) 441-1419. —B.B.

# Texas SWP in drive for 34,000 signatures

By Pat O'Reilly

HOUSTON—Socialists in Austin, San Antonio, Dallas, and Houston are preparing a drive to get 34,000 signatures to win a spot on the November ballot for the Socialist Workers Party.

The socialist ticket is headed by Miguel Pendás, candidate for U.S. Senate, and Sara Jean Johnston, candidate for governor.

Ruth Getts, the Texas SWP campaign chairperson, described the effort required to put the SWP on the ballot.

"While the Democrats and Republicans have automatic ballot status, state law requires that so-called minor parties present petitions with signatures amounting to 1 percent of those voting in the last gubernatorial election," she explained. "That comes to 16,550. To ensure that we have obtained the required number of registered voters, we're shooting for twice that number.

"The law also requires that we validate the signatures. We have to supply the voter registration number of each signer. Since most people don't carry one or are too busy to search for it, we have to look up each name on a voter list," Getts explained.



Militant/Cynthia Slade

**SWP candidate Deborah Vernier at Houston rally**

Both the petitioning and validating must be completed in eight weeks. The Democrats and Republicans don't have to meet any of these expensive, time-consuming requirements.

"The single purpose of these laws is to make it more difficult for any party to challenge the monopoly of the two capitalist parties," added Deborah Vernier.

Vernier, who is running for the congressional seat vacated by Black Democrat Barbara Jordan, was the featured speaker at an open house celebrating the grand opening of a new socialist headquarters in north Houston. More than 100 people jammed the headquarters that evening.

The meeting hall was dedicated to the memory of Joe Campos Torres and

Milton Glover, Jr., both victims of Houston's racist killer cops. A week earlier 500 people had demonstrated in protest of the light sentences handed down to the cops who murdered Torres.

Vernier was introduced by Isaiah Lovings, president of the O.P. Duwall branch of the NAACP, who urged a vote for her. Lovings and Vernier have worked together in coalitions to end police brutality and to desegregate Houston's schools.

The brutal actions of the Houston police department have discredited them in the eyes of a growing number of Blacks, Chicanos, and other citizens here.

Vernier pointed out that the "excesses" of the Houston police department are in line with the role of cops everywhere—to protect private property, and not the lives of working people.

A successful ballot drive, she said, will enable more Texans to hear and judge the Socialist Workers Party candidates' proposals—including their demand for the replacement of the cops in the *barrios* and Black communities with self-defense forces drawn from community residents.

## 300 hear socialist at Urban League debate

ST. LOUIS—A confrontation here between Mary Pritchard of the Socialist Workers Party and Democratic U.S. Rep. William Clay focused attention on the near-desperate economic situation of Blacks in this country—and on the complete failure of the Democratic and Republican parties to do anything about it.

Pritchard is running for Clay's seat in the First Congressional District. She debated Clay, along with other contenders in the race, at an April 9 candidates' night sponsored by an Urban League affiliate. Three hundred people, nearly all of them Black, were in the audience.

Reporting on the meeting, the *St.*

*Louis Post-Dispatch* commented that Pritchard drew strong applause when she "accused the Democrats of ignoring the interests of Blacks."

"The Black community's allegiance to the Democratic Party has brought us higher unemployment, rapid deterioration in housing, denial of Medicare funds for abortions, threats of closing Homer G. Phillips Hospital, and a stalemate on school desegregation," Pritchard explained.

She reminded Clay that in 1977 he had declared that the Democratic Party was "racist" and said he would run an "independent" write-in campaign for mayor on a Black slate.

As the SWP candidate for comptroller at the time, Pritchard had

called on Clay to break with the Democrats and join her in issuing a call for a conference of the Black community to discuss the formation of an independent Black political party.

Clay had responded, "We're not going to leave a powerful, national organization for some pie-in-the-sky organization."

Pritchard urged Clay and the other Democratic and Republican candidates at the April 9 meeting to sign her petitions for ballot status. Only one, Democrat Barry Sheldon, agreed to do so. But after the meeting socialist petitioners found it easy to convince a number of Blacks in the audience to sign to help put the SWP candidates on the ballot.



## After two years, strikers still determined

# 300 rally to back Stearns coal miners

By Nancy Cole

WHITLEY CITY, Ky.—After nearly two years on strike, coal miners from the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, still see only one possible future.

"We can't go down there without a contract. We can't go down there without safety rules," striker Darrell Vanover told more than 300 strikers and supporters here April 29.

"Everybody here knows it's a miracle they haven't blown the whole hill away with that methane gas. I've worked when it was unsafe down there, I know you boys have too. You say something about it, they tell you to get your bucket and get the hell out of here and go home."

"I'm proud of you boys for standing up and telling Blue Diamond, 'No, we're not going to get our buckets, we're going to organize!'"

The "Day of Solidarity With the Stearns Miners" was the first public support activity here since last fall. Presidents and International Executive Board members from three sur-

One encouraging sign for the strikers, who have been through a rough winter, is the return of UMW organizer Lee Potter. Potter was with the strike from its beginning. Then in February, UMW President Arnold Miller ordered him transferred because of "political differences," Potter explained to the *Militant*.

He was reinstated as Stearns organizer after a successful plea before the International Executive Board (IEB). Potter says he has been promised full backing by the international.

Mickey Messer, president of the UMW local in Brookside, Kentucky, gave a short plea for funds for the Stearns miners. "I've got fifty dollars here in my pocket of my own money, and I want to challenge all you active miners to donate fifty dollars."

To big applause, he added, "And the district board members who were drawing a salary while we were on that four-month strike, I'd like to see them donate \$100." The collection came to \$880.

Since the strike began here in July 1976, the Blue Diamond Coal Company, which refuses to negotiate, has tried to defeat the miners through violence and intimidation. First they brought in armed guards, who provoked shooting matches with the strikers. Then last fall, the company started running a handful of scabs into the mine.

### Company violence

When the miners and their supporters protested with a mass gathering at the mine entrance—on the union's own property—Gov. Julian Carroll sent in state police. In the cop attack that followed, several miners were seriously injured, and more than 100 strikers and members of the Stearns Miners Women's Club were arrested.

With the courts and police solidly behind it, Blue Diamond has continued to increase the number of scabs working in the mine. Recently the company announced that it had resumed production of coal for the first time since the strike began.

Then on April 20, one of the scabs was shot and killed while driving home from work.

"I've got news for Julian Carroll here today," said Darrell Vanover. "We're getting sick and tired of his tactics. There would have been no trouble at this mine, nobody would have gotten hurt, if he hadn't sent his boys [state police] down here. They're outside the law."

The news media and cops, of course, immediately pointed the finger of blame for the shooting at the strikers.

"The judge even told our lawyer, Kay Guinane, that the strikers 'killed that guy,'" Lee Potter told the *Militant*.

Blue Diamond has put up \$10,000 reward, supplemented with \$10,000 supposedly offered by the scabs, for information on the killings.



Militant/Della Rossa

**DARRELL VANOVER:** "We can't go down there without safety rules and UMW contract."

rounding United Mine Workers districts brought greetings to the rally. For several, it was their first visit to Stearns.

UMWA Secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn also spoke, pledging the full support of the international.

The strike is important for the future of the entire union. Half of coal production in the country is UMW-organized. About two-thirds of eastern Kentucky mines are nonunion, and the outcome in Stearns will affect organizing drives here for years to come.

### 'Spread like wildfire'

"If we just all stick together and hang together, we're going to win this thing," declared striker Phil Tucker. "Because if we win this thing, there's not only going to be 137 United Mine Workers here at Stearns, it's going to spread all over the damn country like wildfire."

## Socialists voice support

WHITLEY CITY, Ky.—Among those attending the "Day of Solidarity With the Stearns Miners" here were two socialist candidates from Kentucky and West Virginia.

Jim Burfeind is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Third Congressional District in Kentucky. Rosalinda Flint is running for U.S. Senate from West Virginia on the SWP ticket.

They were the only political candidates or politicians in sight. They came to show their support for the courageous struggle of the Stearns miners.

Burfeind is also on strike—at the General Electric plant in Louisville.

"A lot of us think the same way you do," he said in conversations with strikers here. "We can't let the company push us around."

Burfeind told how his Democratic Party opponent in the elections—Ron Mazzoli—claims to be a friend of labor. Yet Mazzoli telegraphed President Carter during the nationwide UMW strike urging use of the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act.

Burfeind and Flint found miners here ready to listen and agree when they talked of running independent labor candidates for public office and forming a labor party as an alternative to the antiunion Democrats and Republicans. —N.C.

## Your help is needed

WHITLEY CITY, Ky.—"I've been all over the country, I've spoken to a lot of people," said Darrell Vanover to the April 29 rally here. "There's a lot of people across the country today that know about the strike."

Miners here are hoping that support will continue to grow for their struggle in every part of the nation. After two years on the picket line, they need active support now more than ever.

UMWA organizer Lee Potter believes that one way people can aid the struggle is to put pressure on Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll to pull state police out of Stearns. "If the

state police and courts hadn't interfered with us here in this strike, it would be over," he told the *Militant*.

Potter and Vanover say that statements of support and contributions coming in to the strike headquarters are of critical importance in sustaining the strike.

Contributions can be sent to: Stearns Miners Relief Fund, c/o Freddie Wright, 303 Yoakum Circle, LaFollette, Tennessee 37766.

Statements of support or inquiries for speakers can be directed to the UMW Stearns Strike Headquarters, Old Post Office Building, Whitley City, Kentucky 42653. —N.C.



LNS Women's Graphics

Poster on wall of UMW headquarters in Whitley City, Kentucky

State detectives have stepped up harassment. At least one striker's home was broken into by the police, supposedly searching for "evidence" of the killing.

"We're not killers," explained Vanover. "We have never fired a shot unless fired on first. I know that none of our guys did that."

"If the detectives would ask the right people, they would find out who did it. But they don't want to know," he told the *Militant*. "These police aren't here to enforce the law, they're just here to harass coal miners."

Nobody here has any doubt that the forces of law and government are going to do anything but stand in their way of winning a contract. "If you don't stand up for your rights nobody else is going to," reflects Potter. "The corporations run this country."

\* \* \*

After the rally here, people stay around for good country music and food provided by the strikers. It's announced that the Stearns Miners Women's Club is about to lead a march

through Stearns.

People slowly walk to their cars for the trip back down to Stearns.

About 100 start the march off, but it grows to 200 as people come out of their houses, and others catch up from the rally.

The march winds up a road not visible from the main highway, into a part of town this reporter didn't know existed. Past spacious homes perched on top of hills—homes of the mine superintendent, other retired and working company management, and finally past the biggest one—the Stearns family mansion.

Then past the rolling, meticulously groomed greens of a golf course. The golfers look up as we pass.

Now we're marching back through town and out past the road leading to the Justus mine. Several police cars "guard" the road, with mocking cops leaning against them.

In the midst of the march there are cheers as a contingent of miners from Local 1569 appears with a ten-foot banner saying, "Stearns Miners Will Win."

—New from Pathfinder—

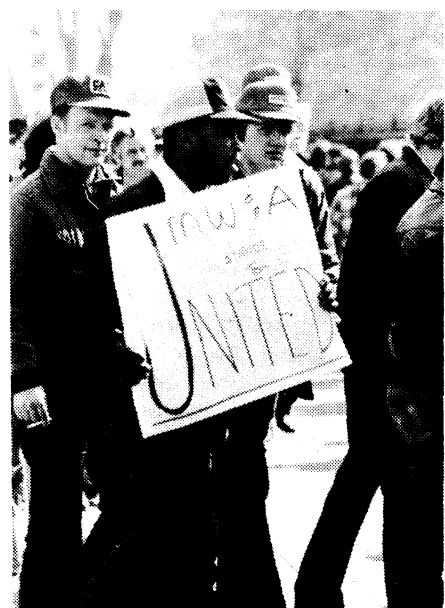
## The 110-day coal strike

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# Toledo teachers defeat union-busting assault

By Sheila Ostrow

TOLEDO, Ohio—Striking members of the Toledo Federation of Teachers and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees reached a settlement with the school board May 2.

The 2,800 teachers and 600 other school employees had been on strike since April 10. Their settlement was negotiated under the threat of invocation of the Ferguson Act—the state law against public employee strikes.

Teachers across Ohio—along with students—have been the victims of a school-financing crisis created by tax and interest giveaways to banks and big business.

But in Toledo, teachers and school employees stood up to these attacks. They refused to buckle under a court back-to-work order—and succeeded in pushing back the school board's union-busting drive. While they did not win all of their demands, they did make some gains through their fight.

Both AFSCME and the TFT reached three-year settlements with wage reopeners after two years. AFSCME, without a contract since last September, won an average wage increase of sixty-two cents an hour and an additional twenty-five cents in September. The union also got an across-the-board cost-of-living increase totaling nineteen cents an hour over a two-year period.

Wage increases for teachers averaged 13.5 percent. The contract also provides for improved hospital insurance and reductions in classroom size.

Both unions were able to beat back demands by the board to punish members for alleged "violence" during the strike.

The essential factor allowing striking employees to stay out for so long—and to stand up to an April 25 back-to-work order—was the mass support they received from other unions, parents, and students.



Militant/Dean Elder

**Socialist candidate John Gaige voiced support for school strikers.**

The day Judge Peter Handwork ordered the strikers back to their jobs, there were more employees on the picket lines than ever before—despite threatened fines of \$10,000 a day for the unions and \$100 a day for individuals. The pickets were joined by parent and student supporters.

The next day, April 26, more than 2,000 participated in a "March for Justice" called in solidarity with the school strikers by Teamsters Local 20.

The spirited and militant rally drew support from locals of the United Auto Workers, Laborers, Meat Cutters, Food and Allied Workers, and city employees, as well as the state AFL-CIO and international leaders of AFSCME and the American Federation of Teachers.

John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant-governor and a member of UAW Local 12 in Toledo, walked the school picket lines.

"All working people can learn from this example of how our own independent action can win against the employers' drive to break our unions and lower our living standards," he said in a statement distributed during the strike.

"In my campaign I am encouraging people all around the state to support the Toledo school employees in their struggle."

# Kansas City meat cutters strike to save jobs

By Bruce Lesnick

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Grocery store chains have launched an attack on union meat cutters here around an issue of nationwide significance.

Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 756, representing about 1,000 workers, was forced on strike April 9 when its contracts expired with all four chains in the area.

The Kansas City daily papers rushed to blame high grocery prices on alleged wage demands by the meat cutters. But the fact is that negotiations had not even reached the question of wages when the strike started.

The real issue is job security in the face of mechanization. The grocery chains are pushing for an agreement to allow the sale of block-ready beef in their stores.

This meat is shipped to the store pretrimmed, pre-cut, and prepackaged—eliminating the jobs of many in-store meat cutters.

In addition, the bosses want the union to allow factory pre-pricing of cold cuts and processed meats. Pricing of these items is usually done by meat cutters at the retail store.

Flowing from these demands, the grocery chains are seeking to eliminate meat cutters from evening, Sunday, and holiday shifts. The expired contracts called for at least one meat cutter to be on duty whenever a store was open.

Union officials have said they would accept the block-ready beef proposals if the companies would guarantee no layoffs. The bosses refuse.

Since the walkout began, the four chains—Safeway, A&P, United Super, and Milgrams—have dropped any pretense of competition. They have jointly set up and publicized a scab hiring hall. They have also jointly published huge ads in the *Kansas City Star*, urging shoppers to "hold down grocery prices" by patronizing their stores during the strike.

As Carl Nothnagel, the union negotiator, pointed out, "They fight like cats and dogs to get business 'til negotiations with the meat cutters come up, then they buddy up."

The union has decided to set up picket lines and call for a boycott only at A&P, Milgrams, and selected United Super stores. Union leaders say the strike may be extended to Safeway soon.

Many Teamsters and retail clerks are honoring the meat cutters' picket lines. Support from these two unions was essential to the meat cutters' victory here two years ago in a seventeen-day strike.

The courts have joined the strike-breaking offensive by ordering Teamsters Local 207, which represents milk drivers, to cross the picket lines.

The walkout may be expanded, however, when the retail clerks' contracts expire May 7.

Already supervisors from Safeway and A&P are being called to operate the Milgrams warehouse and checkout lines. The active support of the entire Kansas City labor movement is clearly needed if the meat cutters are to protect their jobs.

# National picket line

## OCAW prints labor party proposal

The March edition of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' *Union News*—distributed to more than 180,000 union members—included a letter by Jana Pellusch, a member of Local 4-227 in Houston. Pellusch is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for railroad commissioner in Texas. Under the headline "Advocates Labor Party," Pellusch's letter read:

"The lead article in the *OCAW Union News* reads, 'U.S. Labor Movement in State of Crisis Because of Right-Wing Political Activity.' But the facts in the article show that this crisis is not because of the stepped-up political activity of the right, but because the wrong sort of political activity is being carried out by the labor movement as a whole.

"There is a lesson to be learned in having our faces kicked time and again by Democrats elected with the whole-hearted support of top labor officials," Pellusch wrote.

"What we need is a strategy—a national plan of action against our political enemies, whether they call themselves Republican or Democrat. On this point, I agree with Harry Patrick [former secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers.]

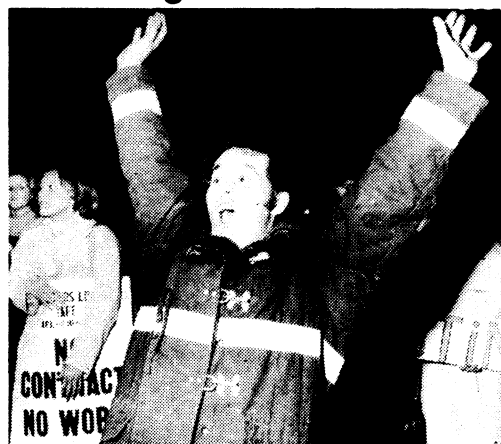
"He recently stated, 'A labor party put together with the right kind of educational program could be a damn viable force. . . . You ought to be thinking about how do we put our person over there. And how do we make a viable labor force, a labor party, in this country and make it work.' (Interview in *The Militant*, Dec. 23, 1977.)"

## Fire fighters jailed for striking

Striking fire fighters in Normal, Illinois, have been jailed since March 31 for refusing to obey a court order to end their walkout. They are still providing fire protection to the city through a "work release" program.

Militant correspondent Elaine Graybill reports that the strike was provoked by the city council's insistence on excluding two officers of the force, a captain and a lieutenant, from the union bargaining team. The city claims that the officers are part of management. Fire Fighters Local 2442 sees it differently. "They're a part of the team that fights fires and, as such, ought to be part of the bargaining unit covered by a contract," a union spokesperson told the *Daily Pantagraph*. "Supervisory personnel traditionally have the power to hire, fire, suspend, promote, or demote. None of those powers are possessed by captains, lieutenants, or inspectors."

The community has come to the strikers' defense with petitions, stickers, buttons, and demonstrations. Four hundred strike supporters jammed into the April 3 city council session. As a result of this growing pressure, the city offered to let lieutenants into the bargaining unit—if they accepted a \$2,700 cut in pay. The jailed fire fighters rejected the offer.



Daily Pantagraph

## Solidarity in Seattle. . .

It is more and more common for bosses to provoke long strikes—particularly by small or isolated unions—in order to force through their "takeaways" of workers' rights. Fortunately, in some places the labor movement is beginning to mobilize solidarity actions.

It's been a year since auto-trades workers in King County, Washington, were forced on strike by bosses bent on busting open their forty-year-old union shop.

On April 1, 500 demonstrators from thirty unions staged a mass picket in Seattle to express their solidarity with the strikers. The marchers were joined by car caravans from picket lines throughout the county.

## . . . and in Michigan

Two hundred Detroit-area trade unionists rallied April 7 in support of the coal miners and the ongoing *Oakland Press* strike.

Members of Newspaper Guild Local 22 and Printing and Graphic Communications Local 13 have been on strike against the Pontiac *Oakland Press* since December 29, 1977. The small suburban paper is owned by a huge New York-based conglomerate—Capital Cities Communications—which is spending \$1 million a month to keep publishing with the help of scab labor and paid goons.

The strikers are receiving broad support from nearly 100 union, civic, religious, and women's organizations. Other unionists regularly join strikers on the picket lines and are actively supporting a boycott of the *Oakland Press*.

—Shelley Kramer



Solidarity



## Ray Markey speaks out on NYC crisis

# 'Why I'm running for president of Local 1930'

The following is reprinted from a campaign leaflet by Ray Markey, candidate for president of Local 1930, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Markey is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a longtime activist in Local 1930, which represents 1,400 library workers in New York.

I have been asked many questions during the course of my campaign and I would like to answer some of them briefly.

*How can we get a salary increase if the library and the city have no money?*

There is money. It's just a question of who gets it and how it's spent.

At the same time they cried poverty and told us there was no money, library management has consistently given themselves raises. One of [Democrat Edward] Koch's first acts as mayor was to give management personnel a \$7,000 raise.

The members of the Emergency Financial Control Board and "Big MAC" [Municipal Assistance Corporation] tell us there is no money. But they pay the banks, insurance companies, and wealthy investors (like themselves) some \$2 billion a year in tax-free interest payments on city bonds.

The politicians in Washington say there is no money. But New York City gets back less than half of the money we send to Washington in taxes. Most of the rest goes for the \$126 billion war budget.

So it's not a question of begging for charity from Washington—it's a question of fighting to get back some of what is now being stolen from us.

*Should AFSCME District Council 37 and the other municipal unions settle for the same contract offered to the transit workers?*

Absolutely not.

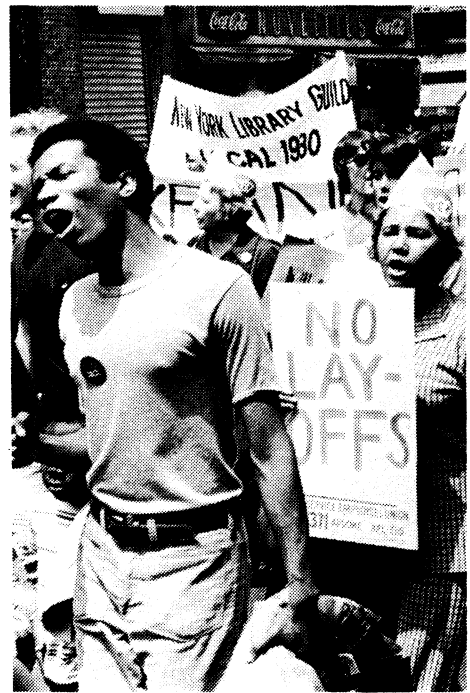
After three years of wage freezes, deferrals, and demotions, a 6 percent increase over two years doesn't come close to being adequate. It isn't even close to the inflation rate.

We need a real wage increase, cost-of-living allowance (COLA) not tied to productivity, and all the deferred money owed to us.

The transit workers have not been offered any of these things.

*If it's true that there is money, what can our local do to win a decent contract?*

We all know that our local alone can't win this fight. But we can work together with others in District Council 37 and like-minded people in community organizations to begin putting together a movement that can win job security and higher wages for our



Militant/Andy Rose

**'Our power lies in mass action by the ranks of our union, together with allies in the communities.'**

members and better services for all New York residents.

Our power lies in *mass action* by the ranks of our unions, together with our allies in the communities—not in wheeling and dealing with the politicians and bankers.

We should begin mobilizing that power in united rallies and demonstrations to protest the attacks on our wages, jobs, and working conditions.

And we must be prepared to withhold our labor—to carry out an effective, united strike of city workers—if that's what it takes to secure a decent contract.

*How will it help our union to elect you as president?*

Many people ask me to run simply so we could have someone who would speak out against these attacks.

What I can do as an individual is very limited. I can't promise to get us a good contract—because that doesn't depend on a few skilled negotiators. It depends on the activity of every union member.

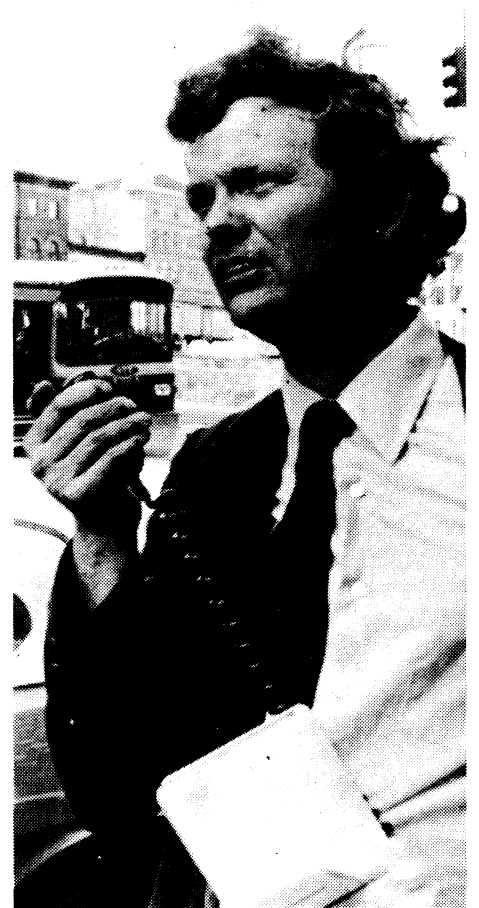
I do promise this—as president of our local I will use the office as a platform to *tell the truth* about the city crisis and how working people can defend ourselves.

My opponent says to trust Victor Gotbaum [head of AFSCME District Council 37], but Gotbaum tells us the city is broke.

I will tell the truth—that there is plenty of money to meet human needs in New York, but today this money is being *taken away* from city employees and those who depend on city services and *given* to the Pentagon and the super-rich.

Gotbaum tells us we should work as partners with city hall and the bankers to "save the city."

I will tell the truth—that we have to fight *against* the bankers and the Democratic and Republican politicians, because they are the ones who



RAY MARKEY

are profiting from our sacrifices and who are constantly attacking us publicly.

If I am elected president of Local 1930 there will be no secret negotiations. Everything will take place in full view of the membership and all policy will be decided by democratic vote of the membership.

The attacks on our local won't be solved simply by voting in a different president. But as president I will do everything I can to help build a militant and democratic labor movement that does have the power to defeat these attacks.

## 200 in Boston protest U.S. aid to shah

By Carol Henderson Evans

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Opponents of U.S. government support to the brutal dictatorship of the shah of Iran scored a victory here April 24.

A protest meeting of nearly 200 people at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was held despite attempts by Maoists of the Iranian Students Association-U.S. (ISA-US) and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) to disrupt it.

The MIT meeting was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). It was cosponsored by the New England Chile Solidarity Committee, the Massachusetts Committee for Palestinian Human Rights, the Committee of Palestinians in New England, the Mobilization for Survival, the Socialist Workers Party, and others.

The ISA-US is a faction in the Iranian student movement that—together with the RSB, a Maoist youth organization—has violently disrupted meetings sponsored by CAIFI because it disagrees with CAIFI's strategy for defending political prisoners in Iran.

Only two weeks earlier, for example, members of the ISA-US and RSB in Portland, Oregon, physically assaulted participants in a CAIFI meeting. The attackers injured several people, but were unable to break up the meeting.

The sponsors of the meeting here, fortunately, were able to foil threats to repeat these goon-squad tactics.

The meeting was addressed by the well-known Iranian poet Reza Ba-

raheni. Baraheni, now living in exile in the United States, spent 102 days in the shah's prisons. He was released as the result of an international campaign demanding his freedom. Baraheni is the honorary chairperson of CAIFI.

Noam Chomsky, the prominent human rights activist and professor of linguistics at MIT, also spoke.

Baraheni described the growing resistance in Iran to the shah's use of repression and torture—including a wave of strikes and demonstrations in many cities.

"On the day Carter met with the shah in Washington," Baraheni said, "sixteen students died when police tried to break up a group of 4,000 students who had gathered for a poetry reading at Tehran University." That attack, he explained, has sparked ongoing protests in Tehran and some fifty other cities.

"The shah made a promise—not to raise oil prices—to the president, who makes a main issue of human rights. In return, Carter never mentioned human rights. Later, the State Department said that President Carter and the shah hold identical views on human rights. This was a stab in the back to all Iranians who believed in Carter's promises," Baraheni said.

Noam Chomsky also discussed Washington's support for the shah.

He explained that U.S. aid to colonial countries tended to increase "as human rights deteriorated—as torture and repression increased, as standards

of living dropped, as unions were destroyed, and as government death squads became active. This was because as human rights deteriorated, the societies became more regimented and the investment climate improved."

Meeting organizers took measures to ensure that the forty to forty-five members of the ISA-US and RSB who showed up to disrupt the meeting would not succeed.

The organizers circulated a statement at the meeting deploring the violent attack on Portland. The statement was signed by Karen Lindsay, a feminist poet and journalist; Florence Luscomb, longtime socialist and women's rights activist; Efrain Colado, Puerto Rican Student Union, University of Massachusetts, Boston; Luis Castro, Boston Student Coalition Against Racism; and Lisa Potash, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts.

When the ISA-US and RSB members began handing out a leaflet attacking Baraheni, the meeting organizers asked them to repudiate the attack in Portland and to state they would not disrupt the Cambridge meeting.

But the ISA-US and RSB members refused to do so. The meeting organizers told them that under the circumstances they would only be permitted to send one representative in to present their point of view during the discussion.

The Maoists refused, insisting on their right to enter the meeting, at which point the meeting organizers

told them that none of them would be allowed in.

After most of the people attending were inside, the ISA-US and RSB members continued to stand in the hallway making speeches and chanting slogans, provocatively heckling CAIFI supporters who were acting as marshals for the meeting.

When Baraheni entered the meeting by another door, the ISA members rushed towards him, trying to force their way in.

Following the speeches, Chomsky and Bob Pearlman, who chaired the meeting, won approval for a motion permitting those protesting outside to send in a small delegation to address the meeting. The representative of the ISA-US used his time to slander Baraheni, claiming he was an agent of the shah.

At the conclusion of the meeting Chomsky told the audience that like everyone else there, he had been watching this debate over how best to defend the shah's victims.

CAIFI's tactic was to hold forums and other educational meetings to inform the American people about repression in Iran. CAIFI's opponents seemed to come to such events with the primary goal of struggling politically with their sponsors. As an American who wished to aid the struggle for justice in Iran, Chomsky said, he would continue to support the tactic that sought to effectively educate the public.



# How Maoists failed test of miners' strike

## RCP's sectarian policy

By David Frankel

In the midst of the recent coal strike, club-swinging thugs led by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), a Maoist organization, tried to break up a meeting in Houston in support of the miners. Several union activists, including socialists, were seriously injured by the attackers.

The attack in Houston, which occurred on March 17, was not an isolated incident. At a strike support rally in Los Angeles February 22, RCP members provoked a brief physical confrontation with stewards of United Auto Workers Local 216, which was hosting the meeting.

Earlier that week, the RCP disrupted a plant-gate collection organized for the striking mine workers by Local 216. RCP members shouted, "Don't give to the Miller bureaucrats," referring to United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller.

What has led the RCP to engage in such actions?

There is a strong element of desperation in the RCP's resort to violence. To begin with, the group has just undergone a split in which it lost roughly half of its forces. RCP leader Bob Avakian won't regain any of his lost members by launching

the union, the only place for genuine militants.

Formations similar to the MRSC have been set up by the RCP in other unions. These all function as sections of the RCP's National United Workers Organization (NUWO). The RCP's entire strategy is based on trying to build NUWO—rather than the unions—as the mass organizations of the working class.

One has only to look at the publications of the NUWO and its sections to see this. *Rank & File Unity*, for example, is the newspaper of the Miners Right to Strike Committee. On its back page, *Rank & File Unity* regularly publishes a list headlined, "What You Can Do." Among the suggestions are circulation of MRSC petitions, formation of MRSC chapters, distribution of MRSC literature, fund raising for the MRSC, and so on.

Nowhere do the Maoists suggest that the UMWA itself should put out literature explaining the miners' demands, organize fund raising, solidarity meetings, or publicity. In fact, the RCP had no proposals whatsoever for how the UMWA and other unions could fight the coal operators and block their attack on the miners. The main activity of the

collections would have helped bring discussion of the miners' strike before the union movement as a whole.

### Sabotage

Not only did the RCP/NUWO/MRSC fail to help organize effective support for the miners, but they actually *opposed* the broad labor-sponsored events that took place.

In Los Angeles, when UAW Local 216 voted to carry out a plant-gate collection for the UMWA and the Stearns, Kentucky, strikers, the MRSC carried out a *countercollection in its own name*. Despite the Maoist disruption, auto workers contributed more than \$1,700 for the miners' strike during one shift change. Such union-endorsed actions raised about \$30,000 in the Los Angeles area during the course of the strike and another \$65,000 in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Thousands of workers across the country attended strike support meetings and rallies, joined car caravans to take food and clothing to the strikers, and sent donations and resolutions of support. All of these actions were initiated by rank-and-file unionists (including socialists) or local union officers. Toward the end of the strike these local actions prompted donations totaling more than \$4 million from several international unions.

But the RCP would have nothing to do with the union-backed solidarity events, giving the excuse that "bureaucrats" were involved. The Maoists went so far as to attempt to picket a rally of 400 in Los Angeles February 22 and to physically assault the Houston gathering.

The grotesqueness of this dead-end factionalism was highlighted at a strike-support meeting organized by students at the University of West Virginia in Morgantown February 3. Speakers at this rally of 250 included Roy Keith, a Stearns miner who was injured in a police attack on a picket line, and several local union leaders.

The officials who spoke at this meeting were trade unionists working regular jobs. The president of the Monongalia-Preston Labor Council, who signed a statement of support for the miners, works as a meat cutter in the A & P.

But when supporters of the MRSC in the Morgantown area were asked to back the rally and help build it, they refused. They explained that they would only relate to "the rank and file," and that the rally would have "bureaucrats" up on the platform.

Despite the super revolutionary posturing of the RCP, their sectarian opposition to any effort to mobilize the power of the unions behind the coal strike amounted in practice to sabotage of the miners' cause.

### Union bureaucracy

Not only socialists but tens of thousands of other union activists see the need for a new, fighting leadership in the unions. Millions more workers are painfully aware that the present union officialdom is doing a poor job of defending their interests, without yet seeing any alternative.

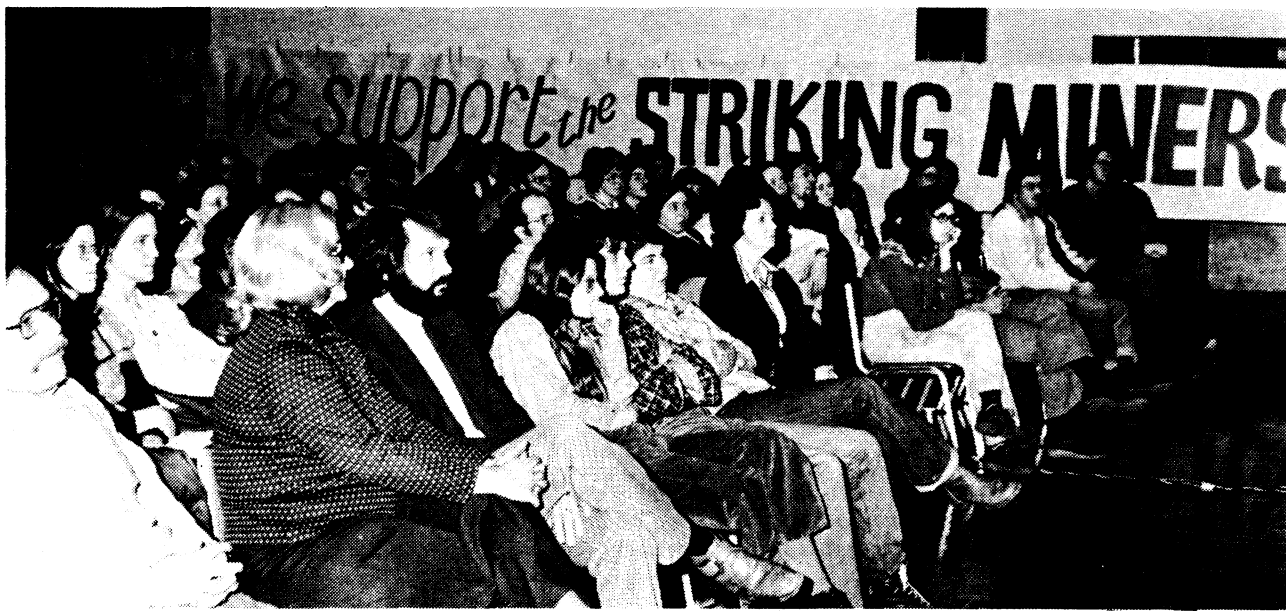
The problem is how to build a mass movement within the unions that can win the necessary changes. What answer does the RCP give to the problems of program and leadership in the unions? Only this—to brand the union officialdom as an enemy on exactly the same level as the bosses.

Thus, an MRSC leaflet handed out February 6 at a strike support demonstration in Pittsburgh declared: "... the coal owners have shown how desperate they are to crush us and have a work force that does not stand in the way of their profits. Our international has stood right with the operators in doing this."

The leaflet concluded: "The lines are drawn. On one side stand the operators with their partners in our own international and government. On our side stands the rank and file and the growing support of workers across the country."

It is true that the high-paid bureaucrats who have usurped control over the unions follow a program dictated by the bosses. (It is not true that the United Mine Workers is identical to other unions in this respect, a point we will discuss later.)

The union bureaucrats accept the need for "fair" profits and "restraint" on workers' demands for higher wages, job security, and better conditions.



Militant/Nancy Cole

February 3 coal strike support meeting of 250 people in Morgantown, W. Va. RCP refused to help build broad solidarity actions such as this one.

attacks on labor solidarity meetings. But such actions may help him to silence—at least for a while—questions and frustrations among his remaining followers about the increasing isolation of the RCP.

RCP members, operating through a group known as the Miners Right to Strike Committee (MRSC), gained some following in the coalfields during the wildcat strikes in 1975 and 1976. But the RCP and its MRSC were isolated and discredited during the recent national strike.

Miners found that the RCP was unable to answer the big questions facing the UMWA and the labor movement as a whole: How to defend gains they had won in the past? How to strengthen the union for future battles? How to develop a leadership that will stand up to the antiunion assault?

Failing to win support for its ideas by argument and discussion, the RCP has turned to thuggery.

Unfortunately, RCP members have been widely identified (in part by red-baiting from the companies and the news media) as the "radicals" in the UMWA. This gives a completely false picture of what socialists stand for and serves to discredit socialist ideas among miners and other workers.

So it is important to clarify what's wrong with the RCP's policies and how their destructive actions have nothing in common with a socialist or revolutionary strategy.

### Sectarian policy

At the core of the RCP's trade-union strategy is the attempt to substitute phoney "rank and file" groups run by the RCP for the union itself. These tiny caucuses devote their energy to shrill denunciations of the present union officials—without explaining the new policies needed if the unions are to defend the workers' rights and living standards.

The RCP has only a handful of members in the UMWA. But in setting up their MRSC, they insisted that this was the "real" rank-and-file movement in

MRSC during the strike was to organize demonstrations against the UMWA leadership under the empty slogan, "No sellout."

### Two strategies in action

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance followed a completely different policy during the miners' strike.

The SWP and YSA began from the standpoint of what was needed to win the strike. Socialists focused their efforts on exposing the propaganda of the bosses, explaining the real issues in the strike, and helping to build large, visible actions of solidarity with the miners. To be effective, such support activities had to draw into action the broadest possible forces—especially the forces of the organized labor movement.

The sectarians in the RCP viewed solidarity actions that were not carried out under their control as a threat. They acted as if little RCP-led groups could substitute for the power of the organized union movement.

An MRSC leaflet handed out in Pittsburgh gives an indication of the Maoists' absurd pretense that they were solely responsible for solidarity with the miners. According to the leaflet:

"The NATIONAL UNITED WORKERS ORGANIZATION (NUWO) and its mine section MINERS RIGHT TO STRIKE COMMITTEE (MRTSC) are building support for the strike throughout the country. The NUWO auto section has collected over \$500 at plant gate collections in Detroit, and here in Pittsburgh the NUWO steel section collected a similar amount at the steel mills."

What the leaflet didn't say was that NUWO activists carrying out such collections made no effort to get the support of the union locals where the collections were taken. Plant-gate collections taken by union stewards would have raised much more money for the strikers. And motions for such

They stifle union democracy. They tie the unions to the political parties of the bosses—the Democrats and Republicans. They accept and even help to enforce discrimination by the employers against women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. They blame unemployment on other workers—undocumented immigrants, or workers in other countries who produce goods imported here—rather than on the profit-greedy policies of the bosses.

But to come up with a strategy for transforming the unions into effective, fighting organizations that defend the workers' interests, it is necessary to know more than just how bad the bureaucrats are. Revolutionaries also have to take into account some other factors:

First, the only force that can transform the unions is the mass of workers themselves. No small group, no matter how correct its ideas, can substitute itself for the mobilization of the union ranks.

Second, the union bureaucrats face a contradiction. On the one hand, their subservience to procapitalist policies makes them less and less capable of defending the workers' jobs, wages, and working conditions. On the other hand, they cannot survive for long without at least *appearing* to be representing the members and winning occasional concessions from the employers.

What is needed is to help the workers, through their own experiences of struggle, draw the correct conclusions about what new policies are needed in the unions. Only through this process can a new, class-struggle leadership be forged.

A revolutionary strategy requires, above all, a program of action that corresponds to the real needs of the workers. It also requires some tactical sense and ability to exploit the contradictory position of the union misleaders so that broader and broader

its pages to letters and discussion from working miners. For the first time ever, the union ranks won the right to vote on their contract.

Without these democratic gains—which strengthened the union and inspired the ranks—it's a safe bet that miners would not have been able to carry out their 110-day strike this year. In the course of the strike, new leaders *did* begin to step forward.

These militants did not stand on the sidelines and shout "No sellout." Rather, they organized mass meetings of miners where the ranks had the opportunity to speak at open microphones. They solicited support from other unions. And in rejecting the contract proposals accepted by Miller, they pointed to the demands democratically voted on by the 1976 UMWA convention.

The mass strike meetings and the emergence of some fighting leaders on the local level were among the most important developments in the strike. Yet the RCP sectarians had *nothing* to say about them—because they didn't fit into their schema and were not under their control.

### 'Convincing' with clubs?

The attack on the Houston strike support meeting starkly exposed the RCP's real attitude toward union democracy.

The RCP tried to justify its violence with the lie that the meeting was organized to back the inadequate contract proposal voted down by miners over the weekend of March 5. An RCP leaflet handed out after the assault declared, "Confrontation Exposes Supporters of Miller's Latest Sellout."

However, the real purpose of the meeting was explained in the program passed out by the organizers of the rally. It said, "We planned tonight's meeting to give people in the Houston area an opportunity to hear a first-hand report from the

newspaper, contains the following passage:

"... the capitalists are trying to use diversions to confuse the issues and turn miners away from building militant rank and file struggle against the companies. This is what they are trying to do by their complaints and grumbling about UMWA president Arnold Miller and his ineffectual leadership. They are surely displeased with Miller's inability to whip the miners into line. But at least as much they would like to see miners focus their anger and militancy away from the companies into an anti-Miller campaign."

The RCP goes on to denounce the "Dump Miller" campaign as "a diversion" cooked up by "opportunistic union hacks." "Objectively," it adds, "these guys are serving the interests of the coal owners and the capitalists by confusing the issues."

Never mentioned is the fact that during the strike the foremost advocate of the "Dump Miller" stance was the Miners Right to Strike Committee!

### Strike lessons

Socialists believe that the miners set a powerful example for all working people. By understanding and extending the strengths of the miners' strike, workers can take some big steps forward in defending themselves from today's antilabor attacks.

That means, in the first place, extending the fight for union democracy—the right of the members to vote on contracts, elect union officers, and democratically decide all aspects of union policy.

Second, the ability of the miners to turn back the attack on their union showed the crucial importance of working-class solidarity. This concept has a broader meaning than simply that of unions supporting each other's struggles. It is by labor supporting the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, women, working farmers, and other oppressed layers of



Militant/Nancy Cole

New leaders stepped forward during miners' strike. They organized mass meetings, such as one above in Pennsylvania, where union members were able to democratically discuss issues facing UMWA.

layers of workers see the need for a change. These are all qualities completely absent in sectarians such as the RCP.

In the coal strike, for example, they were blind to the fact that behind the endorsement some union officials gave to solidarity actions lay the pressure of the rank and file. By refusing to call on the official union leadership to throw its weight behind a struggle the sectarians both sabotage the immediate struggle and *let the union misleaders off the hook*.

Union militants need to put forward effective proposals for strengthening the union and demand that union leaders *lead*—that they fight for the demands of the workers. This is the way that officials who are unwilling to act in the interests of the ranks will be discredited and replaced.

### Union democracy

Key to the process of developing new policies and a new leadership is the fight for union democracy—the right of the ranks to discuss, decide, and implement policies in their own interests.

But the sectarians of the RCP ignore—and even oppose—the fight for union democracy. This is evident from their contemptuous disregard for the gains miners won by ousting the corrupt regime of former UMWA President Tony Boyle and electing the Miners for Democracy slate in 1972.

Under Boyle's rule, dissident miners would find that their medical cards had been taken away. Retired miners who failed to toe the Boyle line would have their pension checks stopped. Those who went too far in opposing Boyle, like Jock Yablonski, who ran against him in 1969, were murdered.

With the victory of the Miners for Democracy, important changes took place in the UMWA. District elections were held, including in eight UMWA districts that had been under trusteeship since the days of John L. Lewis. The *UMW Journal* opened

UMWA, and to raise funds to help support striking miners and pensioners." Not one speaker voiced support for the proposed contract.

But suppose the RCP had not lied about the character of the meeting. Suppose backers of the contract really had organized a rally. Would a physical attack on such a meeting be justified?

The answer is *no*.

Any such attack would be an assault on the right of all miners to discuss and decide on their contract. Thousands of miners—one third of those voting—cast their ballots in favor of the second contract proposal.

They had their own reasons. Many were feeling the pinch after more than two months without a paycheck. Others may have felt that the union was not in a position to do any better.

Would the RCP advocate beating up these miners if it had the power to do so? That is the logic of its position.

The final contract offer approved by the miners had many negative features, although it was better than the earlier offers. Does that mean that the majority of miners who voted for it approved of "Miller's Latest Sellout"? Should they be attacked with clubs?

By their use of violence to try to settle differences in the working-class movement, the RCP is resorting to the same methods used by the old Boyle bureaucracy in the UMWA. The RCP thus offers a preview of how it would operate if by some unfortunate chance it ever obtained positions of leadership in the union.

### Sectarian logic

The sectarian logic of focusing its attack on the union leadership rather than the bosses finally became so clear that the RCP was forced to pull back and denounce the consequences of its own practice.

The March 1978 issue of *Revolution*, the RCP's

society that attempts to play off one section of the workers against others can be defeated.

Finally, it is necessary for the labor movement to act independently of the employers and their government instead of seeking to collaborate with them.

Here too, the miners set an example. They refused to trust the employers, and they communicated that well-justified mistrust to the whole country. The miners knew that if safety was left to the bosses' discretion, their average life expectancy would plummet.

When the Carter administration stepped in and tried to break the strike with a Taft-Hartley injunction, the ranks of the UMWA gave workers everywhere another valuable lesson in independent labor action.

What is necessary is that the independence of the ranks of the UMWA on the picket line be generalized in the political sphere. The UMWA—and the labor movement as a whole—need to break with the Democratic and Republican parties. Labor needs its own political party if it is to effectively defend its interests.

### Poverty of ideas

These are lessons that are of vital importance to every working person in the United States.

Yet during the entire 110 days of the coal strike, the RCP/MRSC never raised the idea of independent labor political action. Not once.

They said nothing about the need for union democracy.

On the issue of working-class solidarity, the RCP was not short on rhetoric. But in practice it opposed building a broad strike support movement.

Now, with this miserable performance behind them, the Maoists are trying to overcome their poverty of ideas by physical attacks on those who disagree with them.



# Talking socialism with co-workers on the job

By Catarino Garza

Tom Smith works at the Dodge Truck plant in Warren, Michigan, just outside Detroit. He is a member of United Auto Workers Local 140.

He is also a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Smith tries to get to work a little bit early each day. He finds that gives him a chance to talk to co-workers—both on his own shift and on the one before. He sells a lot of *Militants* that way.

During the special sales week featuring the *Militant's* assessment of the coal miners' strike, Smith sold twenty-four papers. Usually he averages fifteen.

Other socialists who work in Detroit auto plants sold a total of twenty more copies during the special week. And other SWP members helped out by selling an additional thirty-two at plant gates and parking lots during the shift changes.

Altogether, that totals seventy-five. That's better than most weeks, but the SWP branch there intends to keep up the momentum, selling to auto workers both on the job and as they come and go from work.

Socialists working industrial jobs in cities across the country are finding that their co-workers are interested in the socialist perspective the *Militant* brings to local, national, and world events.

In Baltimore, for example, socialist steelworkers found a lot of interest in the *Militant's* coverage of the recent All Unions' Conference for a Shorter Work Week. There delegates from many unions discussed the idea of shortening the workweek with no loss in pay to help provide jobs for those

now out of work and to give working people some more time to pursue their own interests.

"That really struck a responsive chord," one of the Baltimore socialists reported.

And it's not just the *Militant's* labor coverage that interests steelworkers. A recent article about the phony socialist rhetoric of Jamaican President Michael Manley "was a big hit." Other workers are interested in learning the *Militant's* views on what's been happening in China since the death of Mao Tsetung—and comparing that to what they've read in some Maoist papers sold at the plants.

"I've found that I better make sure to read the paper cover to cover before I sell it," the Baltimore socialist said, "because after my co-workers read it, they have all sorts of questions."

He says he often has to work at it to make a sale. "You can't be discouraged when you get turned down the first time. You've got to go and talk to them a couple of times.

"Later, they'll be coming up to my bench to get a copy," he said.

Regular sales often lead to subscriptions, and that means more steelworkers are following the *Militant* week in and week out.

As in Detroit, Baltimore socialists who don't work in the plants pitch in by selling outside.

The same thing can be done at union meetings. A member of the Communication Workers of America in Washington, D.C., reported, "It's great when you see someone reading a *Militant* they bought from someone outside the meeting. I go up and ask them what they think of it.

Continued on page 18

# Success in s spurs 'Milita' 38 cities meet q

By Steve Clark

The success of the special *Militant* sales week at the end of April marks a turning point in the spring campaign to increase the circulation of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language bi-weekly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

"This week was good for the enthusiasm and momentum of our sales," reported Cathy Gaike from the Toledo branch of the Socialist Workers Party. "We have been doing better each week recently. Now everyone participates in sales, we have made our quota for the past two weeks, and we are confident that we can make the higher quota we set for ourselves each week, too."

Toledo socialists have raised their weekly goal from 60 to 75. During the special sales week they sold 135.

Nationwide, the spring drive got off to a halting start, with most branches falling short of their quotas during the initial weeks. An important aim of the special sales effort was to reverse this situation for the remaining four weeks of the campaign.

The issue of the *Militant* sold during the special week fit in particularly well with another central aim of the drive: to significantly increase sales at plant gates and on the job in industrial workplaces. The *Militant* featured a supplement on the lessons all working people can learn from the coal strike—lessons about how to defend their unions, their rights, and their living standards.

## Reaching industrial workers

"Our biggest selling point was the feature on the coal miners," said Kansas City socialist Scott Cooper, reporting on plant gate and on-the-job sales there. The Kansas City SWP branch sold nearly half its 186 papers that week through these kinds of sales: 60 at plant gates, and 22 to co-workers.

The branch organized fourteen teams to sell to auto, steel, postal, rail, and butcher workers in the Kansas City area.

The SWP believes that the openness to anticapitalist ideas among industrial workers today is greater than ever before. More and more socialists are getting industrial jobs in order to talk socialism with other young workers.

Selling the *Militant* to this generation of rebellious working people is central to building a revolutionary socialist party in the United States.

A young Black steelworker in Cleveland had been buying the *Militant* for several weeks in a row. During the special week, he had his fifty cents already in hand as he approached the gate. And he asked the salespeople if there were any socialist meetings he could attend to find out more.

Rose Ogden, organizer of the Miami SWP branch, reported, "We are finding plant sales one of the best ways to sell *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well."

## Campaigning for socialism

There's a lot more to reaching people with socialist ideas than just talking to them in and around their workplaces, though.

The socialist movement has to establish a high visibility at shopping centers, on street corners, and in neighborhoods where working people live and run their errands.

The spread of radical ideas questioning the way society is now organized runs deep throughout the population. You run into people affected by it almost everywhere—especially in Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

Socialists in thirty-eight cities participating in the spring 'M' sales campaign made—an average of 135 copies during the special April. This is up from two weeks.

Altogether, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sold more than 135 copies of the two publications than doubles the results of the last campaign was launched last year.

More than 650 copies of the *Militant* were sold during the special week. This almost doubles the record for this new special weekly.

This successful effort points to a much stronger position for socialism during the remaining four weeks of the campaign.



Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor of Pittsburgh's Jones & Laughlin plant. Zola had a good hearing and helped his campaign more than an hour.

Often sales of the *Militant* and *PM* in these locations are linked to campaigning for SWP candidates. "Tying sales with campaigning for John Gaike, our candidate for lieutenant governor, helped get sales people really excited this week," Toledo reported.

In Seattle, according to sales director Greg Preston, the SWP branch

## Weekly sales results

(Results from 'Militant' issue #16, dated April 28.)

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
New York	575	2,002	75	167	650	2,169	333.7
San Jose	100	244	10	16	110	260	236.4
Toledo	60	135			60	135	225.0
Minneapolis	100	224			100	224	224.0
Los Angeles	400	889	100	136	500	1,025	205.0
Dallas	115	211	10	43	125	254	203.2
Denver	105	208	5	7	110	215	195.5
Boston	165	320	25	50	190	370	194.7
Kansas City	90	174	10	12	100	186	186.0
Chicago	282	517	18	36	300	553	184.3
Albany	60	106			60	106	176.7
Raleigh	75	129			75	129	172.0
Houston	270	423	30	92	300	515	171.7
Indianapolis	100	170			100	170	170.0
Atlanta	250	419			250	419	167.6
St. Paul	80	133			80	133	166.3
Baltimore	100	162			100	162	162.0
Morgantown	100	158			100	158	158.0
Cincinnati	75	115			75	115	153.3
Newark	130	212	20	14	150	226	150.7
San Francisco	220	339	15	5	235	344	146.4
Miami	90	128	10	18	100	146	146.0
Tacoma	90	131			90	131	145.6
Seattle	150	215			150	215	143.3
Milwaukee	120	161	5	14	125	175	140.0
Oakland	150	207		3	150	210	140.0
Salt Lake City	115	172	10	1	125	173	138.4
Portland	90	122			90	122	135.6
Berkeley	138	175	12	4	150	179	119.3
Cleveland	150	171			150	171	114.0
Washington, D.C.	230	238	20	26	250	264	105.6
Louisville	100	105			100	105	105.0
San Diego	100	116	25	13	125	129	103.2
Albuquerque	113	115	7	7	120	122	101.7
Philadelphia	250	251			250	251	100.4
Detroit	300	300			300	300	100.0
New Orleans	150	150			150	150	100.0
Pittsburgh	125	125			125	125	100.0
St. Louis	200	163			200	163	81.5
San Antonio	100	25	10		110	25	22.7
Phoenix*	75		10		85		.0
TOTALS:	6,228	10,360	427	664	6,715	11,024	164.2

\*Petitioning, not reporting



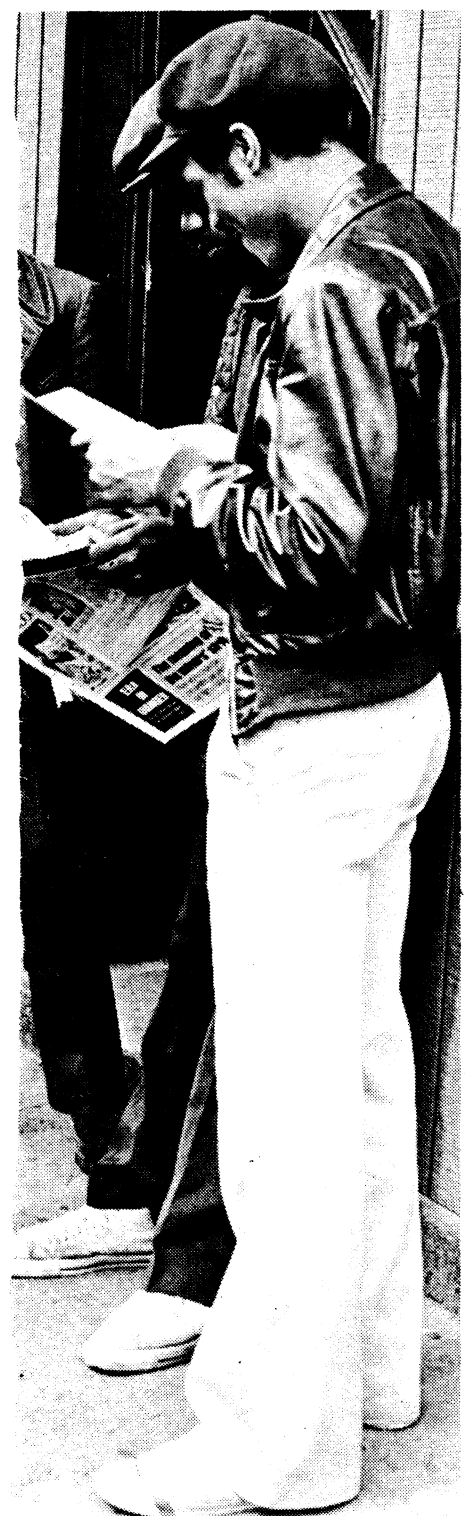
# Special effort it' sales drive otas-11,000 sold

the forty-one cities parti-  
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Socialist Workers Party  
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any week since the cam-  
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PM' were sold during the  
oubles the previous sales  
sh-language socialist bi-

the socialist movement in  
o meet its sales quotas  
weeks of the drive.



Militant/Andrea Baron  
Pennsylvania, talks with steelworkers at  
member of Steelworkers Local 2789, got  
supporters sell eleven 'Militants' in less

learned some useful ideas that will  
help its street sales in the future.

Members of the branch gathered  
early Saturday morning at the SWP  
headquarters. A short presentation  
was given going over the contents of  
the issue and some pointers for sales.

Then the branch divided into teams  
of four, combining experienced Mil-

itant and PM salespeople with those  
who had less experience. Team  
members traded successful sales tips  
throughout the day and stayed out  
until they had collectively sold an  
agreed-upon number.

Doing things this way, Preston said,  
provided encouragement to some peo-  
ple who previously thought that they  
"just couldn't sell."

The Philadelphia branch had gotten  
off to a slow start during the drive and  
was determined that the special week  
would mark a new beginning.

A socialist educational conference  
was scheduled to take up the better  
part of the Saturday that launched the  
week. So sales were organized for that  
morning between 9:00-11:00 before  
classes began.

Thirty-five people went out and sold  
100 papers—a good initial boost to-  
ward the eventual 251 papers sold that  
week.

## Winning new members

One Philadelphia salesperson that  
morning met a woman who liked the  
*Militant* so much that she decided to  
come to the educational conference.  
After attending the SWP election cam-  
paign rally that night, she said she  
was interested in joining the SWP.

With experiences like that one, re-  
ported Philadelphia sales director Bob  
Stanton, "Our confidence was so im-  
proved that we went out the next  
Saturday and sold 160. We're sure that  
we'll top our quota again."

Many branches report that following  
the successful sales of the special issue,  
they are in a much stronger position  
for the rest of the drive—and for keep-  
ing participation in sales high and  
regular after the drive is over.

As it did in Philadelphia, that will  
pay off in new readers who will come  
to socialist events and may end up  
joining the SWP or Young Socialist  
Alliance.

## Campus sales

YSA members have participated in  
the national sales drive by selling the  
*Militant* and *PM* on campus, along  
with the monthly *Young Socialist*  
newspaper. They have also pitched in  
on plant gate sales, and sales in the  
Black and Chicano communities.

Members of the Seattle SWP discov-  
ered during the special week that  
*Militant* and *PM* sales to students  
could be boosted significantly by send-  
ing SWP members onto campus to help  
out the YSA.

In Cleveland, SWP organizer Kath-  
leen Fitzgerald met a student at  
Cleveland State University who was  
especially interested in the article on  
the coal strike. "His grandfather had  
worked in the mines—and his father  
too, before moving to Cleveland to  
work in a steel mill.

"The *Militant* was the only paper he  
had seen during the strike that sup-  
ported the miners," Fitzgerald re-  
ported, "the only one that told their  
side in the fight."

A striking Stearns, Kentucky, miner  
evidently agreed with this assessment  
of how the big business-owned press  
covers the miners' struggle. At the  
strike support rally reported on else-  
where in this issue, that miner told  
*Militant* salesperson Russell Pelle that  
he had read the paper while in jail  
following a police attack on a picket  
line.

"This is about the only paper I want  
to read," he told Pelle. "To hell with  
the other papers."

# Selling 'PM' in L.A.

By Nelson Blackstock

LOS ANGELES—"Are you in Mex-  
ico City or Los Angeles? Sometimes it's  
hard to tell," observed a Latino  
member of the Socialist Workers Party  
driving through East Los Angeles.  
"Occasionally you see a sign in Eng-  
lish, but mostly they're in Spanish."

The faces of many American cities  
are changing. The northward migra-  
tion from Mexico and other countries is  
producing growing concentrations of  
Spanish-speaking people.

In Los Angeles, the already substan-  
tial Chicano and *mexicano* sections of  
the city are today crowded with new  
immigrants. They come mainly from  
Mexico, but also from Puerto Rico and  
many countries in Central and Latin  
America.

It is among such people that *Perspec-  
tiva Mundial* is finding its most recep-  
tive audience.

Launched only last year, *PM* is now  
in the middle of its first national  
single-copy sales drive.

For the past several Saturdays, Hol-  
brook Mahn has returned to a big K-  
Mart store. Nine out of ten of its  
customers are *mexicano* or Chicano. In  
not much more than an hour he sells  
twenty *PMs* and two or three *Mili-  
tants*, which he also brings along.

"I recently began studying Spanish,  
so I don't know very much," he ex-  
plained. "But I try to briefly say that  
this is a new Spanish-language maga-  
zine, then point to the coverage of  
Héctor Marroquín's case. The question  
of deportations is one that interests  
people very much. If they are not new  
immigrants themselves, then they  
have friends or relatives who are."

At a grocery store in another section  
of Los Angeles, Sharon Cabaniss sold

ten *PMs* and five *Militants* in a little  
more than an hour. She spoke no  
Spanish, however.

"I began by showing people the  
*Militant*," she said. "Then, if they told  
me they didn't read English, which  
many did, I would show them I also  
had a magazine in Spanish. Even  
though I had gone primarily with the  
idea of selling *PMs*, I found this me-  
thod most effective."

The Mercado is a busy shopping  
mall frequented by new immigrants  
from Mexico. The merchants strive to  
introduce the atmosphere of the custo-  
mers' native land. Two big mariachi  
bands compete for attention. In half an  
hour, Dave Paparello, speaking no  
Spanish, sold four *PMs*. "I just said,  
'Excuse me,' and showed them the  
magazine," he explained. "That's all it  
took."

Los Angeles socialists take *PMs* with  
them on plant-gate sales. At one small  
plant organized by the steel union,  
they brought signs advertising cover-  
age in the *Militant* on the miners'  
strike. They succeeded in capturing  
attention, and sales at this spot  
doubled. Interestingly, however, four of  
the workers bought *PMs*, and only two  
bought the *Militant*.

A Chilean singing group drew 1,000  
at a recent benefit performance in this  
city. About half the audience was  
Spanish-speaking people. Two socialist  
salespeople were present. They sold  
twenty-four *PMs* and fourteen *Mili-  
tants* in a matter of several minutes.

"This event drew people from many  
countries in Latin America," said one  
of those present. "A person from one of  
the countries covered in *PM* is likely to  
get a copy."

During the recent special sales week  
some 132 *PMs* were sold here.

# Campus campaigning

By Steve Clark

"Although most students were sur-  
prised to hear me say it, radical ideas  
are more widespread on campuses  
today than they were ten years ago."

That's how Dianne Feeley sees it,  
after a two-week visit to several New  
York State campuses. Feeley and  
another socialist sold the *Militant* and  
*Young Socialist* and publicized her  
campaign for governor on the Socialist  
Workers Party ticket.

"Our kind of politics are very attrac-  
tive to these students," says Feeley.  
"They like the *Militant*. And not only  
because it covers all the struggles for  
social change, but because it provides  
a perspective on how each one relates  
to the whole."

"The *Militant* explains how social  
change can come about, and that's  
what is on their minds."

Many students are concerned that  
the campuses are "apathetic" today.  
They have "a somewhat romanticized  
view of the sixties," Feeley says.  
"Mass demonstrations on campus ev-  
ery week, and enormous socialist con-  
sciousness."

She says that students want to know  
how the big social movements of that  
time were organized and why there has  
been less protest activity in recent  
years.

"Actually," Feeley explains, "the  
disillusionment with capitalism today  
is greater than ever before." And there  
*Continued on next page*

# Rallies & marches

The importance to the spring cir-  
culation campaign of sales of the  
socialist press at political events was  
spotlighted by results from activities  
reported on elsewhere in this issue:

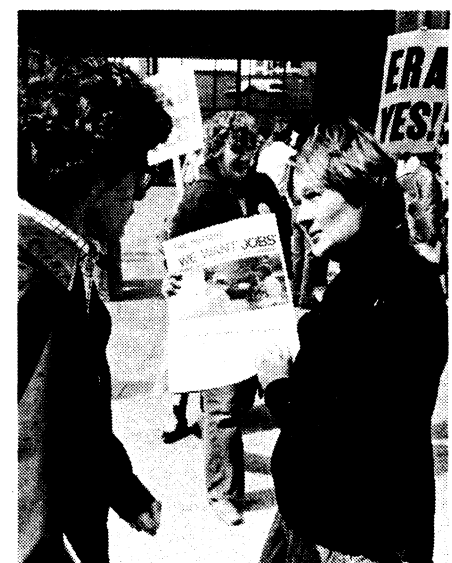
- Nearly 300 *Militants* and about  
100 copies of the *Young Socialist*  
were sold at the antinuclear protests  
in Rocky Flats and Denver, Colo-  
rado, April 29 and 30.

- About eighty *Militants* and fifty  
YSs were sold that same weekend at  
the Barnwell, South Carolina, anti-  
nuclear protest. They were sold by  
Socialist Workers Party and Young  
Socialist Alliance members from  
Atlanta, Georgia, and Raleigh,  
North Carolina.

- Eighty-four *Militants* were sold  
at the Chicago demonstration and  
rally for the Equal Rights Amend-  
ment.

- At an antiapartheid demonstra-  
tion in Boston April 30, socialists  
sold forty *Militants*.

- Twenty-five *Militants* were sold  
at a Stearns, Kentucky, rally to  
support the striking miners there.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
Chicago ERA rally, April 29

## ...on the job

Continued from page 16

"We get into conversations about things like affirmative-action programs for Blacks and women, especially around the *Bakke* case."

Socialists in the Chicago rail yards sold thirty copies of the *Militant* to their co-workers during the special sales week and plan to average twenty-five a week for the rest of the drive.

In Cleveland, a new member of the SWP sold nine copies of the special issue to co-workers at an auto plant. He had been selling the paper there for two weeks before he asked to join the SWP.

Overall, the spring sales campaign has given a big boost to sales on the job. The Seattle branch, for example, had been averaging only about seven sales a week in workplaces before the drive.

Now they're up to thirty-five.

## ...campuses

Continued from page 17

are signs that visible campus protest activity is on the rise too.

For example, on all three campuses Feeley visited—Cornell University, State University of New York at Binghamton, and University of Buffalo—there had been coal miners' support rallies of between 200 and 400 students.

Buses for the April 15 anti-*Bakke* march in Washington, D.C., had been organized on each campus. And there is a growing movement at Cornell demanding divestment of university investments in companies doing business in racist South Africa. The two Cornell members of the Young Socialist Alliance are very active in that fight.

Feeley and her teammate sold 110 *Militants* on the campuses—fifteen at a Palestinian Land Day rally organized by Arab students at Buffalo. She spoke to many classes and campus feminist and other political groups.

At Binghamton there was only one YSA member before Feeley's visit. But two students joined as a result of the tour, and another joined a few days later.

"Students listened carefully when I pointed to the coal miners' strike as a sign of the radicalization among young industrial workers today," says Feeley. "And they were interested to hear me say that the new possibilities of students linking up with the mighty power of the American working class makes the campus radicalization more important today—not less—than it was in the 1960s."

## Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions

By Leon Trotsky  
80 pages, \$1.95

Also available—four books on the labor movement by Farrell Dobbs:

**Teamster Rebellion**, 192 pp., cloth \$10.00, paper \$3.95  
**Teamster Power**, 256 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$4.45  
**Teamster Politics**, 256 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$4.45  
**Teamster Bureaucracy**, 304 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$4.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 for postage and handling, \$.50 if order of more than \$5.00.

# Mexican human rights activist appeals for solidarity in U.S. tour

By Roger Rudenstein

"You have a tradition of democracy. Will you help Héctor Marroquín? Will you ask for amnesty for the political prisoners of Mexico?"

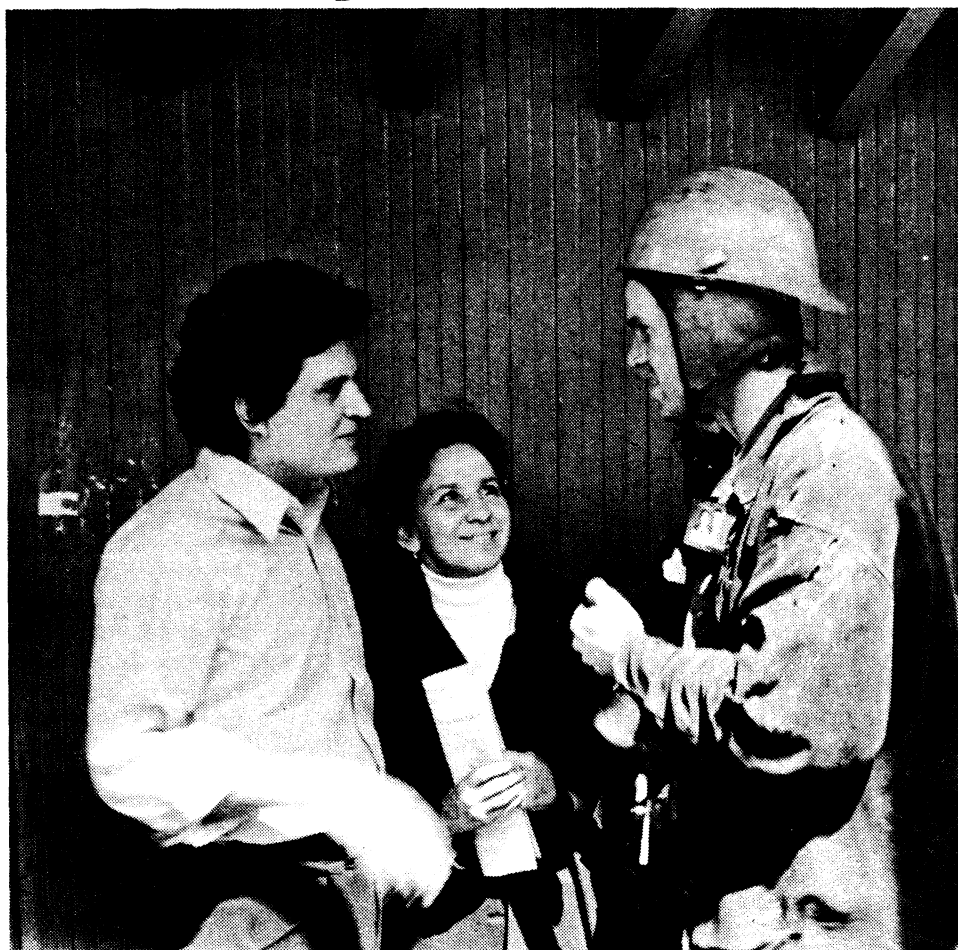
This—reported the *Seers Weekly* published in Albuquerque, New Mexico—is what "Rosario Ibarra de Piedra requested of those she talked to at various meetings around Albuquerque during her visit here in early April."

Piedra is a founder and leader of a Mexican defense committee that seeks to free the hundreds of political prisoners in Mexico's jails. The group is called the Comité Pro-Defensa de Presos, Perseguidos, Desaparecidos y Exiliados Políticos (Committee to Defend Political Prisoners and the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared" and Exiled). The committee has fourteen chapters throughout Mexico.

Piedra was in New Mexico as part of a U.S. speaking tour organized by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. Marroquín is a socialist and trade-union activist fighting deportation from the United States. A former student leader in Mexico, he was framed up by authorities there on murder charges and fled the country in 1974.

In Albuquerque, Piedra's tour was covered by both the city's major newspapers. She also appeared on television and radio, and spoke to a meeting at the University of New Mexico where over \$200 was raised to help Marroquín's defense.

Piedra's visit helped Albuquerque defense activists to win endorsement for Marroquín's request for political asylum in the U.S. They were able to get the endorsement of the New Mexico



Rosario Ibarra de Piedra (center) with Héctor Marroquín (left) speaking to worker at Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Raza Unida Party, American Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers Guild, and National Organization for Women. They also got the support of the University of New Mexico student government as well as backing from many individuals.

In Phoenix and Tucson, supporters organized a number of campus meetings in conjunction with La Semana de la Raza, a week of activities sponsored by the Chicano student group MEChA. Supporters collected forty-five names of people interested in working on Marroquín's defense.

In Denver, supporters raised over \$300 for the defense. Piedra's tour was endorsed by a broad range of individuals and groups including the Colorado Federation of Teachers; José B. Cuellar, chairperson of Chicano Studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder; and Vicky Romo, of the Denver League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Piedra's visit to Salt Lake City received coverage in the *Salt Lake Tribune* and in the *Desert News*, the other Salt Lake daily.

In New Orleans Piedra spoke at Tulane University, the University of

New Orleans, and at a Militant Forum. Supporters collected over \$200 for the defense.

Scott Breen, who coordinated her tour in New Orleans, said: "Rosario Piedra's tour put us in touch with many people who want to help Marroquín's defense. She woke a lot of people up to the brutal repression the Mexican government is carrying out against political activists."

"Piedra's visit has given us a head start in organizing for when Héctor Marroquín comes here to speak in June."

### CHICAGO

"The Struggle for Political Asylum"  
Hear Héctor Marroquín; Norine Gutekjanst, Center for Legal Services for Immigrants; Jean-Pierre Baptiste, executive director of 'Lettre Ouverte'; a representative from Chicago Alliance to End Repression; representative from Chile in Struggle Committee, and others.

Thursday, May 11, 7:30 pm. St. Vitus Church, 1818 S. Paulina. Donation \$1. For more information call (312) 525-1965 or 871-2183.

## Hear Marroquin

Hear Héctor Marroquín speak on his fight for political asylum and why the U.S. government wants to deport him. He will appear in the following cities in May:

May 6-8	Cleveland
May 9-10	Milwaukee
	Madison
May 11-15	Chicago
May 16-19	Minneapolis
	St. Paul
May 20	Kansas City
May 22-24	Cincinnati
May 25-27	Washington
	Baltimore

## Bullet fired into LA socialist's home

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—On the evening of May 21, a shot from a high-powered rifle was fired into the kitchen of Tim Mallory, a Pasadena socialist and desegregation activist. Mallory had moved away from the kitchen window just seconds before the shot was fired.

Police found the expended shell from a 30-caliber bullet in the kitchen. Markings indicated where it had ricocheted off the wall.

They did not tell Mallory if they had determined the location from where the shot was fired or if they are pursuing the investigation.

Mallory was the Socialist Workers

Party candidate for Pasadena School Board in 1976 and a prominent activist in the fight to desegregate Pasadena schools.

With the movement to implement a court-ordered desegregation plan, right-wing thugs increased their violence in the city.

Desegregation demonstrations were harassed by uniformed Nazis. The Nazis also sought to harass people at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, which were actively involved in the desegregation campaign. At one point, Nazis picketed the socialists' offices. In that incident, one person was assaulted by a Nazi.

During this period, bullets were fired into the socialist headquarters and rocks hurled through the windows.

Demands for police action by many in the community evoked little official response.

In recent months, Mallory's home was burglarized several times, and political material was stolen.

A week before the shooting, Mallory's home was the scene of a dinner by campaign supporters of Fred Halstead, the SWP candidate for governor of California. Publicity announcing the event had been circulated in the community.



# P.R. electric utility workers end strike

By José G. Pérez

The four-month strike against Puerto Rico's government-run electric company ended April 24. The workers returned under a wage settlement that fell way short of their original demand.

On April 19, an assembly of 5,745 of the 6,200 members of UTIER, the union of electric company employees, voted overwhelmingly to accept "under protest" a four-year wage pact. It provides for yearly wage increases averaging thirty-one cents an hour (fifty dollars a month). Wages were the only issue in the strike, since other issues had been settled at the time UTIER's last contract expired in mid-1977.

This settlement was just a bit better than the twenty-seven-cents-an-hour offer overwhelmingly rejected only one month before, when UTIER members at a mass meeting voted to return to work while continuing negotiations on a wage pact. The electric company then locked out the strikers, finally forcing them to yield on the wage issue.

Given the inflation rate in Puerto Rico, which is higher than that in the United States, the four-year package will probably mean an erosion in the real purchasing power of UTIER members' paychecks.

Union President Luis Lausell gave a sober assessment of the strike's outcome when he said, "We didn't win in economic terms, because we don't have the power to get more from the employer right now."

But, Lausell pointed out, "we did achieve the immediate objective of stopping them from destroying UTIER." This was a very real threat that was posed once the government refused to let the workers return without a settlement of the wage issue.



April 29 assembly of striking UTIER workers

UTIER

The outcome of the UTIER strike is important for all Puerto Rican unions and working people. UTIER is among the largest, oldest, and most powerful unions in this island-colony of the United States. Its strength has been reflected in the fact that UTIER members are among the highest-paid workers in Puerto Rico—earning, according to the government, \$185 a week before the strike, compared to \$150 for high school teachers and \$115 for fire fighters.

In addition, the American ruling class's offensive against the rights and standard of living of working people is reflected directly in Puerto Rico, because American corporations and banks own most businesses and factories. In the case of the electric company, for example, although it is for-

mally owned by the Puerto Rican government, its financing comes from giant U.S. banks, which use that leverage to dictate policy.

The colonial status of Puerto Rico means the economic crisis is reflected more sharply there. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, real unemployment in Puerto Rico may be more than 50 percent, and the largest company in Puerto Rico, the Commonwealth Oil Refining Corporation (CORCO), recently filed for protection under U.S. bankruptcy laws.

The UTIER strike was led by a young, militant leadership headed by union President Luis Lausell, who is also a member of the central committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Puerto Rican Gov. Carlos Romero

Barceló reportedly told top aides at the beginning of the strike that his objective was "to defeat . . . once and for all" Lausell and other labor leaders like him.

Thus, the strike was in some ways comparable to the recent strike by the United Mine Workers in the United States. It was a test of strength between the bosses and their government and a key sector of the labor movement.

As Luis Lausell explained, "In this strike UTIER was doing battle on behalf of the labor movement as a whole. We didn't win the first-round battle in economic terms . . . but we did win a victory in terms of the experience acquired with which we can continue the struggle."

## Raza Unida wins Crystal City council election

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Raza Unida Party forces won a victory in the April 1 Crystal City, Texas, municipal elections. In so doing, they defeated several candidates of the Barrio Club, a dissident grouping within the Crystal City RUP. The Barrio Club is now participating in the May 6 Democratic Party primary but in a weakened position.

In the April 1 nonpartisan election, candidates supported by a coalition of RUP forces defeated Barrio Club candidates for two open seats on the city council. This gave the RUP coalition a majority on the council, ending Barrio Club control of the city administration.

Two Barrio Club incumbents were also defeated by the RUP coalition in the election for district school board.

The RUP took control of Crystal City

away from the Democrats in 1971. In 1974, José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City RUP, was elected Zavala County judge.

Several years ago, the Barrio Club emerged as an opposition to Gutiérrez within the RUP. Two other dissident formations also existed in the party: La Raza Libre and a looser formation generally known as the *independientes*.

With a four-way division in the party, the Barrio Club was able to control the administration in Crystal City.

However, when it became known that the Barrio Club intended to enter the Democratic Party by participating in its primary election, the three other RUP factions united to run a single slate in the municipal elections against the candidates supported by the Barrio Club.

In a telephone interview, Manuel Salas, an aid to Gutiérrez, said the newly elected members of the city council are Víctor López and Luis Avila. Rudy Espinosa, already a member of the council, was elected mayor.

The defeated Barrio Club-supported nominees were Eliseo Sánchez and Francisco Benavides, the former mayor.

The two new RUP members on the school board are Esmeralda Torres and José Cuevas.

Meanwhile, the May 6 primary lineup has changed. Initially, it had been anticipated that there would be a contest in the Democratic Party to decide who would run against Gutiérrez for judge. He is seeking reelection and is unopposed in the Raza Unida primary.

Arturo Gonzales, a leading figure in the Barrio Club, had announced he would seek the Democratic nomination for judge. However, he recently said he was withdrawing for "personal" reasons.

This means Gutiérrez will be opposed in the November general elections by Carlos Aguilar, a businessman. Aguilar is now the sole contestant for the Democratic nomination.

While the Barrio Club decided not to challenge Gutiérrez for judge, they are seeking the Democratic nomination for county treasurer, county clerk, and district clerk.

If La Raza Unida Party remains united, it should be in a strong position in the November fight for control of Zavala County, despite the defection of the Barrio Club to the Democrats.

## L.A. Blacks protest death of NAACP activist

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—A young Black civil rights worker whose area is community-police relations is arrested while "speeding." Over a twenty-eight-hour period, he is beaten, choked, and kicked by police. Then he's given a massive dose of tranquilizers, and three minutes later he's dead.

There are angry protests in the community, and a special coroner's medical team investigates. It reports the young man died of "stress and exhaustion." The coroner declares, "The case is closed."

This happened in Soweto, South Africa? No. In Los Angeles, USA.

Ferdinand Bell, twenty-one, chaired the NAACP's youth and police relations committee. He was arrested

last January 8 for "reckless driving."

Sheriff's deputies forcibly removed him from his car. In doing so, they administered a gash in his forehead so deep that they took him to the county hospital instead of the jail.

The doctor who treated him reported Bell was "totally irrational" but "OK for booking."

Police said Bell was berserk on "angel dust"—which is what they've said about the last several people they killed.

The special coroner's team, headed by the president of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, conceded it could not be determined if Bell really had taken angel dust prior to his arrest.

But, they asserted, Bell did

experience "combateness and sleeplessness," and, in such a situation, a person "burns up more calories" and "tends to wear out."

The probers did appear a bit embarrassed by the whole business. They modestly stated that "it is our impression" that Bell died of exhaustion.

A lot of people think differently.

Malbour Watson, who is both an attorney and physician, assailed the report as a whitewash and "patently absurd."

He noted that an initial coroner's report had determined that death was due to asphyxial strangulation.

Marion Hill, NAACP youth adviser, told the *Militant*, "We talk about what

happened in South Africa when they beat a militant Black leader to death in jail. What's the difference between that and what's going on here?"

The Rev. Dr. Charles Green, a member of the NAACP Executive Board, told the *Militant*, "A thing like this just doesn't happen." It is by design, by device. Why? The young gentleman was a member of the NAACP Youth and College Division. But more, he was the chairman of the police relations committee. Now, what was he working on, and why was he stopped?

"Since we're talking about human rights around the world," Dr. Green added, "I think it's time we started cleaning up here at home."

# U.S. trade and OPEC oil

By Dick Roberts

(Second of six parts)

The capitalist press repeats over and over again that the decline of the dollar is caused by the U.S. balance-of-trade deficit. This measures the difference between the total price of goods that are exported by the United States and those that are imported.

The press particularly targets oil imports from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries as a villain in this regard.

It is certainly true that the U.S. balance-of-trade deficit last year was the largest in history.

In 1977 the U.S. imported \$26.7 billion more in products from abroad than it exported. That compares with the 1976 deficit of \$5.88 billion and with

## Decline of the dollar



the previous record of \$6.83 billion in 1972.

Moreover, the central ingredient of the import overhang last year was oil. Oil imports cost \$42.14 billion in 1977. This was up 31 percent from 1976, which in turn was 30 percent higher than 1975.

The combined imported-oil bill of the United States in the past three years is nearly \$100 billion. This is greater than the annual gross national product of India, the most populous nation in the capitalist world. Truly vast sums of money are pumped abroad to pay for imported oil.

### Imports

But not only oil. The difference in imported oil between 1977 and 1976 was \$9.91 billion, yet the balance-of-trade deficit had grown by \$20.82 billion. Most of this difference, then, was not accounted for by oil.

The United States also imports: \$5.8 billion worth of steel; \$8.4 billion worth of meats, fish, sugar and coffee; and \$10.6 billion worth of autos, to list the biggest categories besides oil.

So more dollars are going overseas to pay for these imports than are coming in through the sale of U.S. goods abroad. This means that dollars are piling up in foreign countries—and will continue to do so.

### U.S. growth

The widening gap between U.S. exports and imports reflects criss-crossing dynamics of the world capitalist economy. On the one hand, the U.S. economy has been stronger since the 1974-75 depression than the economies of most of its imperialist rivals abroad, making it better able to afford imports.

On the other hand, the more rapid growth rates of industrial productivity in some foreign nations increasingly enable them to undersell U.S. compa-

nies and penetrate the American market.

Last year only Japan's growth (5 percent) exceeded the real growth of the United States (4.9 percent). West Germany (2.5 percent) fell behind, and lesser imperialist competitors such as Britain, Italy, France, and Canada either stagnated or dropped into recession.

These economies were consequently unable to absorb goods exported from abroad. They were all the more impelled to attempt to sell their own export goods in the United States—and undoubtedly slashed prices to do so.

### Productivity drive

At the same time, the drive for technological superiority abroad has proceeded at a much faster rate than in the United States. Between 1970 and 1975 output per hour in manufacturing grew at an annual rate of 1.8 percent in the United States, 2.7 percent in Canada, 3.1 percent in Britain, 5.4 percent in Japan, and 5.4 percent in West Germany.

These faster rates of productivity growth are enabling foreign countries to close the once-wide gap between U.S. and foreign output per hour in manufacturing. A recent U.S. Labor Department survey found that between 1958 and 1975, Japanese output had grown from the range of 21.6 to 25.3 percent of U.S. output per hour to a range of 64.9 to 67.2 percent.

In the steel industry Japan was ahead. The U.S. Labor Department reported, "Preliminary estimates for 1975 show that productivity in the Japanese steel industry is above the U.S. level, ranging between 111 and 132 percent of the United States. The German industry reached a level between 81 and 90 percent of the United States. The French productivity level was about one-half, and the British was less than one-half, the U.S. level."

The ferocious competition among world steel producers is well known. Dollars will continue to go abroad as foreign industry undersells U.S. products in the American market itself.

### Inflation

There is a close relation between productivity and inflation in the capitalist economy. Inflation is largely the result of tremendous governmental and other unproductive expenditures in the economy. Washington, for example, lavishes billions of dollars on massive weapons programs year in and year out, running enormous budget deficits to finance these arms.

In general, the greater the proportion of the economy invested in basic production—steel, machinery, mining, consumer goods, and so on—the lower will be the inflation rate, as illustrated in the accompanying table. Although I was unable to find a comparable figure for the United States, it would undoubtedly be closer to Britain than West Germany. In the United States one of every seven workers is employed by the federal, state, or local governments.

The extent of productive investment is in turn directly related to productivity, since new investment will tend to be in the most technologically up-to-date plants and equipment.

Thus, the lagging productivity increases in the United States are a major cause of its tendency towards faster rates of inflation. And it is this interrelated dynamic that causes the dollar to decline, not the pile up of dollars abroad, per se. The accumulated dollars overseas provide fuel for speculation against the dollar, but such speculation takes place because of the inflation of these dollar reserves.

### Oil imports

Where do these considerations leave the argument about OPEC oil imports?

First, it is not now and has never been the policy of the federal government to halt OPEC imports. Oil imports shot up 30 percent in 1976 and another 31 percent in 1977.

Fully 47.5 percent of total U.S. oil supplies were imported in 1977!

Once oil leaves the ground in the Middle East, Nigeria, or Venezuela, it is owned by gigantic U.S. and foreign imperialist petroleum trusts. These companies pay royalties to the OPEC countries for oil. But they then own it—in the wells; in the pipes and storage tanks abroad; in the transcontinental pipelines and tankers that carry it across oceans; in refineries; in storage tanks, pipelines, railcars, and oil trucks that distribute it locally; and in the gas stations where we buy it.

This is a source of enormous profits for the

biggest U.S. corporations such as Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, and Standard Oil of California—all of which rank among the ten largest industrial corporations in the United States and in the capitalist world as a whole.

These powerful U.S. corporations have no intention whatsoever of cutting off their OPEC source of vast monopoly profits.

Carter claims that his energy program, which aims primarily at raising the price of domestic oil, will help achieve "energy independence" from foreign oil.

But this is nonsense. How will raising the price of domestic oil increase its use? U.S. companies that have to pay more for domestic oil will all the more look to foreign oil.

Raising U.S. oil prices will increase foreign oil imports, not the other way around.

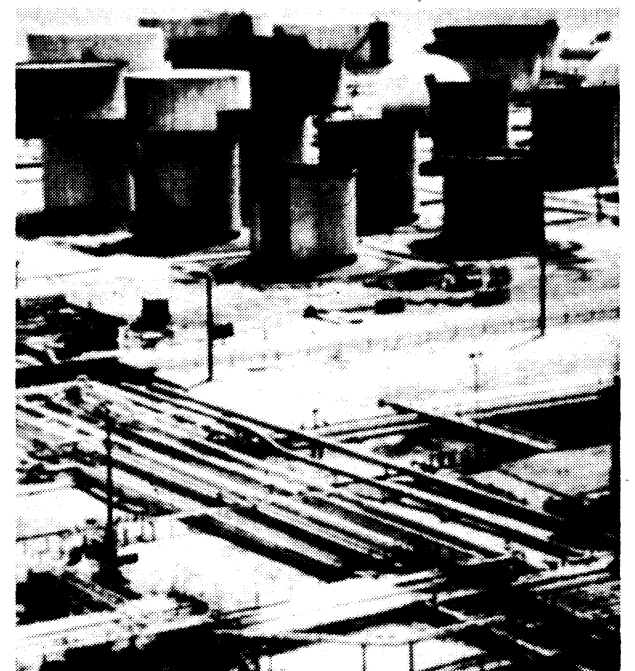
The sole target of all the energy-crisis propaganda remains raising U.S. gas and oil prices, which are presently regulated. Decontrolling prices will make the oil companies even richer—but it has nothing to do with an impending drying up of either domestic or foreign oil sources.

### Petrodollars

Not surprisingly, the energy trust's argument about oil imports causing the dollar's decline fares no better than the rest of their phony propaganda. Let us pursue the dollars that travel abroad to purchase oil.

First, billions of these dollars end up directly in the subsidiary corporations of U.S. oil companies, and it is these overseas U.S. firms that spend the dollars abroad.

In addition, some of that \$42 billion does make it into the hands of OPEC governments. These become "petrodollars." But most petrodollars are directly invested back into the United States.



Are U.S. oil imports the cause of dollar's decline?

"Most of the dollars being paid for oil are never converted into other currencies and thus do not cross the foreign exchanges to help depress the value of the dollar. The oil exporters simply invest the bulk of their proceeds in U.S. securities," *Fortune* magazine said April 24.

Some petrodollars are spent in Europe, yet most capitalist powers have trade deficits with the OPEC countries. They spend more on oil than they sell to these countries. And they must purchase OPEC oil with dollars, since all international oil transactions are conducted in dollars.

Europe and Japan consequently have to purchase dollars to buy oil, and this is one source of support for the dollar, not of its decline.

So the main weakness of the dollar is present and feared inflation in the United States. It has nothing to do with petrodollars.

(To be continued)

### Production and Inflation

	Productive investment as a percent of gdp* average 1955-1975	Annual growth rate of consumer prices, 1957-1975**
West Germany	18.5%	3.4%
Netherlands	18.0	4.9
Belgium	16.0	4.1
Italy	14.3	5.5
France	14.2	6.1
Britain	13.5	6.0

\*Gross fixed capital formation less residential construction. *The Economist*, January 14, 1978, p. 85.

\*\*Rates of Change in Economic Data for Ten Industrial Countries, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, October 1977, pp. D-1, G-1, A-1, E-1, C-1, I-1.

Investment in the productive process and inflation are closely related as this table shows. The more of a capitalist economy that is invested in turning out basic commodities necessary for the reproduction of society—and the less invested in unproductive governmental expenditures—the lower its inflation rate will be, generally speaking, over long periods of time.

### FOR FURTHER READING

**Decline of the Dollar** by Ernest Mandel  
128 pages, \$2.45.

**Capitalism in Crisis** by Dick Roberts  
128 pages, \$2.45.

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# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

## Interview with Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

### Ireland: the struggle against repression

The following are excerpts from an interview with Bernadette Devlin McAliskey that was obtained by Gerry Foley in Coalisland, Northern Ireland, in early April.

*Question. The conference of antirepression groups in Coalisland in February seems to have been the most important political event in Northern Ireland in the recent past. It has been the main point of reference in most of the discussions I have had with politically active people here. What do you think was accomplished by it?*

*Answer.* The first thing the conference accomplished was to prove what almost all the groups on the left here have been saying for some time, that is, that the downward trend in the struggle that set in in 1973-74 has begun to be reversed. Outside Belfast, where the Relatives Action Committees' first developed, it had been hard to see this clearly, although it was indicated in very small ways. But almost everyone found it hard to judge the extent of the upturn and still harder to know what could really be done now.

The people who formed the Coalisland Relatives Action Committee were the mothers, fathers, and families of young Provisionals in prison. Therefore, they were very sympathetic to the Provisional movement, but independ-

ent enough of it to enable them to do things that they might otherwise have been prevented from doing.

ent enough of it to enable them to do things that they might otherwise have been prevented from doing.

When the conference was first suggested, it was visualized as attracting some 150 to 200 activists, who would discuss the present situation and what could be done.

The idea of how to build such a conference, inviting unions, antirepression groups, and individuals, came directly from my own experiences of seeing how the Socialist Workers Party helps build conferences in America, in particular from seeing the work of building the Chicano conference, which was under way when I was in the United States last August.

#### Wide response

It became clear very soon from the replies that we were getting to our invitations that the underlying feeling that there was a need to come together

to discuss our experiences over the past ten years and come to some basic agreement about what to do in the future was far deeper and more widespread than we had imagined. It became obvious that we would have a much bigger conference than we had planned for.

What actually happened was that about a thousand people came to the conference. One of the most striking things about the attendance, and it was a fact from which we all learnt a lesson, was that less than a third of those who came were active members of any organization, republican or socialist. Many of these as yet unorganized people were veterans of the struggle from the days of the civil resistance movement, the rent and rates strike, and the early civil rights marches, who were coming back into activity for the first time.

#### Demand British get out

We ourselves were surprised by a number of things that came out of the conference. For example, there had been an argument on the left for quite some time about the importance of the demand for the withdrawal of the British army. It was generally felt that whereas people would take up the issue of torture, and that in fact was where you could see the main motion, they were not prepared to take up the issue of the withdrawal of the troops.

work has seemed very slow. And people, thinking back to the days of the mass struggle, are impatient. It is difficult for them to realize that getting five or six hundred people on the streets of a small town outside Belfast is a major step forward from the situation two or three years ago, and has to be seen in that light, not compared with 1969-70.

I think that for the most part the results of the conference have yet to be seen. They are slow and ongoing. One of the most promising results of the conference was that it provided the basis for much more freedom in cross-organization discussion, much more understanding of the extent of our agreement on the question of repression and what to do about it. It has laid the groundwork for beginning to remobilize the mass movement.

If we are not able to move ahead from the conference as fast as comrades would have liked, to do with the conference, for example, what might have been done with it by the SWP in America, it was simply because we don't have that kind of organization here.

*Q. How has the British campaign of repression developed in the most recent period?*

*A.* The British security forces have astutely exploited the errors of the

keeping of a watchful eye on a road. And these are the people they're arresting, taking into prison, brutalizing, and charging with crimes such as "withholding information," "giving succor and sustenance to a person known by him to be a criminal," and "harboring persons knowing them to be suspected terrorists."

This kind of charge is being used against the most harmless people, people in the fifty to sixty-five age group, young married couples in quiet houses. In this area alone, a sixty-four-year-old man, Peter McGrath, was hauled into Castlereagh torture center for "interrogation." As a result of his experiences there he ended up in a mental institution for six weeks. A man of fifty-four was arrested. He was the sole support of the household and as a result of his being imprisoned and denied bail, the family have been unable to maintain their small dairy herd, and the cattle have had to be sold. A pregnant young mother, who was in fact in the last stages of confinement, was arrested.

The British are not picking on such people out of sheer brutality. They have a clear political motive. And that is to terrorize the population. They hope that by doing this they can cut the Provisionals off from the community.

#### Need for mass action

Of course, the fact that the British army is now attacking the broad masses of the republican supporters themselves could spark an upsurge of mass resistance. That is, it could if the Provisionals were prepared to become more actively involved in remobilizing the mass movement. They could do a lot of work in mobilizing people in protests and demonstrations.

On the other hand, if the Provisionals continue to neglect this problem, they will pay a big price. Because the British army is trying to isolate them by terrorizing the population itself, and the Provisionals are giving the people no effective weapons with which to fight back.

In this situation, it becomes still more urgent to build Relatives Action Committees and antirepression groups, and to begin to offer some concrete means of expression for the anger that exists among the people. I think that the British army has underestimated the people here, and I am not just talking about people like ourselves, socialists, I mean the people in the traditionally republican areas such as the one in which I live. These people have never accepted defeat, except in the most temporary terms. And now the repression has built up to a degree that they find almost unbearable.

I am not talking just about the conditions in H-Block but in terms of massive use of torture and brutalization. I am not just talking about the most dramatic cases either but the day-to-day cases, where people are simply taken into police stations to frighten them, to rough them up, where kids are stopped on the road and harassed. All this is building up to a situation where, even though the people don't see victory in the offing, they have decided they will not take any more. The feeling of confusion and almost despair that existed among the people is turning to anger. Our job is to build something that can assure that this

*Continued on next page*



However, one of the motions passed unanimously by the conference was one calling for the immediate withdrawal of the British troops. This was the first time since the beginning of the struggle that a meeting of such size and representativeness in Ireland, as opposed to Britain and America, made a clear call for the immediate withdrawal of the British army.

It also led immediately to the formation of Relatives Action Committees in a number of areas, such as Dungiven and other areas in south Derry, Lurgan, Strabane, Dungannon, Galbally. This was a spontaneous development as people who had attended the conference went back to their own areas and took the initiative themselves.

The whole situation of the prisoners was also discussed, as well as the problem of torture. For the first time since 1973-74, sections of the rank and file of the Social Democratic and Labour Party [the bourgeois nationalist Catholic party] were involved in the discussion.

But, following on the conference, the

Provisionals. There has been a series of disastrous mistakes, culminating in the La Mon bombing.<sup>2</sup> These incidents left people very confused as to what the basis of the military struggle was, what was supposed to be gained from it. These activities seemed to them to be foolhardy.

#### British terror

When something like the La Mon bombing occurs, which leaves the people unsure as to what is actually happening, the army moves into the republican areas. Instead of going to arrest known republican figures or known activists, they go about two steps down the ladder to the people with the least involvement. They move into homes where they know that the extent of the involvement is likely to be no more than the provision of a safe house, or the turning of a blind eye, or the

2. An operation in the Provisional "economic" bombing campaign that went awry, resulting in a number of civilians being burned alive.

1. Committees organized by relatives of political prisoners.

## ...the struggle in Ireland and issues facing revolutionists

Continued from preceding page  
leads to something more lasting than an explosion of rage.

**Q.** How successful do you think the British have been in their campaign to criminalize republicans arrested for alleged involvement in the armed actions?

**A.** The one thing you can say with certainty is that they're making no headway where they'd like to make it. They are not making any progress in convincing the Catholic population that the Provos are criminals and that those arrested do not deserve political status.

The problem in the campaign in defense of political status is that there are still large numbers of people outside Belfast and Derry who do not understand the concrete issues. The reason for this is that nearly all the prisoners who have been denied political status come from these two cities.

### 'On the blanket'

The term "on the blanket" has been widely used, but those who do not have relatives or friends in H-Block do not understand what it really means. The people in H-Block in Long Kesh and in Armagh prison [for women] who are denied political status are in fact held in permanent confinement in their cells for twenty-three hours a day. Some of them have been there now for two years, and in all that period of time they have never had any clothes except for a blanket. They're denied access to letters, to reading material, to conversation with anyone except when overcrowding forces prison authorities to put two or three of them in a cell.

There is a sinister system involved in this. A prisoner comes in charged with offenses that supposedly occurred after an arbitrarily chosen date, after which it was decreed that acts of resistance to British rule no longer constituted political offenses, but were simply criminal acts. The young men and women charged with offenses after that date refuse to wear a convict's uniform. Their own clothes are taken away, and they are given no more. They're called up the next day to the governor [warden] and because they've no clothes on, they're accused of breach of discipline, for which they're put into solitary confinement.

Then, the next day, they're called up to the governor again, and they still refuse to wear the prison clothes, so the system of penalties continues, either day by day or week by week, until very shortly the prisoner is left with no so-called privileges at all. That is, no bed, no chair, no table, no letters, no visits, no reading material, no contact with other prisoners.

Once the prisoners reach the position of having no clothes, no furniture, nothing to do, and no contact with any other human being, they are maintained in that position until they agree to wear a convict's uniform. But despite the fact that political status was taken away two years ago, none of the prisoners who have gone on the blanket have agreed to accept the prison uniform.

And so you have growing numbers of young people, every week more and more persons, going into these conditions of absolute inhumanity. And sooner or later one of them is going to go insane or die. Reports coming out of prison indicate that these people suffer from disorientation, weight loss, they have become anemic, most of them



BERNADETTE DEVLIN McALISKEY

Militant/Jean Vertheim

have begun to shave off all their hair in order to keep clean. They get no exercise, they don't get outside at all. They're not allowed out of the cells except to empty their chamber pots, and in fact they empty those in the toilets but they're not allowed to use the toilets while they're there. They wash in basins in the cells, and they take these to the washrooms, but they're not allowed to use the washrooms.

But H-Block is only the most extreme aspect of a whole system of intimidation, torture and dehumanization. Beating and torture are used on a massive scale to force persons to confess to alleged offenses. The most ludicrous example of this to date is the case of Ronnie Bunting [a leading member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party]. He was taken into police custody and had the letters UVF<sup>3</sup> scratched on him.

He reported it to his doctor, and in fact when he was medically examined in the prison, the UVF initials were there and the bruises were there. He was subsequently released without charge. Now he has been found guilty of maliciously accusing the police of assault. To be precise, he was found guilty of "wasting police time." What they have said is that this young man went to prison, beat himself up, defaced his own body, and then wasted police time by accusing them of doing it.

It is obvious what a ridiculous situation this is, but it is also very sinister. It is the final touch on the development of a consistent method of extracting confessions, which to a considerable extent has gotten the British what they want. The number of those sentenced to prison is escalating at dramatic proportions. For example, in this past month seventy-seven persons have been charged.

Father Faul of Dungannon, who does a lot of work in researching and documenting these cases, showed very recently on the basis of evidence presented in the courts, that over 80 percent of persons convicted are found guilty solely on the basis of their own testimony.<sup>4</sup>

The British pick them selectively from crucial areas. Sometimes they go for the young activists. Sometimes

they go for political activists as in the case of John McAnulty [general secretary of People's Democracy, a group involved in fusion with the Irish section of the Fourth International]. Sometimes they go for the broadest layer of republican supporters, for people charged solely with "withholding information." They have been giving sentences of three or four years in prison for that offense.

The British now make little attempt to conceal their complicity with Orange reaction and terrorism in Northern Ireland. Some time ago there was a robbery of something over 200 weapons from an Ulster Defense Regiment station in Magherafelt. Last week, seven members of Loyalist paramilitary organizations came up before the court on various offenses. Three of them were released on bail.

The charges against the three released on bail were conspiring to rob the UDR of 140 self-loading rifles, burning four Catholic houses, and robbing sums of money amounting to £3,000. And yet they were released on bail. But our neighbor here, aged fifty-four, who was charged solely with withholding information and "harboring persons knowing them to be wanted by the police," has consistently been refused bail, despite the fact that his entire family depends on him for its livelihood.

**Q.** What do you think would happen if someone died or went insane in H-Block, or if there was a general hunger strike by the prisoners there?

**A.** There would be an immediate outburst of anger and protests. The Provisionals would certainly try to escalate their military activity.

What is important is to build an organization that can mobilize mass resistance that can force the British to retreat when they try a repressive move or at least expose what they are doing. Because, as the reaction to Bloody Sunday showed, where there is no organization, you simply have an outburst of emotion and an escalation in violence, and then it dies away and you have a feeling of frustration, a feeling that if the same thing happens again there is nothing you can do about it.

**Q.** Why do you think that in recent months in their press and statements the Provisionals have been making the armed struggle into a kind of sectarian dividing line, suggesting that they will not work together in opposing repres-

sion with forces that do not support their armed struggle?

**A.** This attitude on the part of the Provisionals is a big problem. It is totally unrealistic.

There are large sections of the population that cannot and will not commit themselves to armed struggle. The idea of having to give total commitment frightens them, and repels them from other activities. It confuses them. What they see is a vicious circle of people being forced into military actions and then being imprisoned for it. However well they may understand that the British presence here is fundamentally responsible for this, they are not prepared to commit themselves to something that does not seem to be leading anywhere.

### Use of sectarianism

If the Provos think that by basically saying you're not allowed to take up the case of our prisoners unless you support our armed struggle, that they are increasing the backing for their military campaign, they are totally wrong. They are not increasing support for the prisoners or for the armed struggle. In fact, they are decreasing support for both.

The attitude of the Provos is extremely dangerous because it helps the British army in its campaign to isolate them.

I suspect that the reason the Provos have adopted such an attitude is that a conflict is sharpening between their right-wing and an emerging left. Some leading republicans such as Jimmy Drumm and Gerry Adams have called for involving the people but this whole development seems to have become blocked. The traditional reaction in the republican movement when a political difference arises is to stick to the path of unity, and the path of unity in the whole republican tradition is armed struggle against oppression.

But the Provisionals are mistaken if they think that at this stage they can maintain their unity just by pushing ahead with their military campaign and shouting down all criticism. If things continue as they have, there are going to be more divisions, and their right wing may surprise them. It is hard to believe that the Provisionals can think that at this stage they can win a military victory on their own and that everything else is unessential.

**Q.** How close are the revolutionary Marxists to being able to offer a perspective for the forces engaged in the struggle? Where does the regroupment of the revolutionary Marxist forces fit into this picture?

**A.** We've got to the stage where we have a fusion under way between PD and the MSR [Movement for a Socialist Republic, Irish section of the Fourth International]. We have ourselves in the ISP [Independent Socialist Party]. Other groups have gone into the Socialist Labour Party [a left split from the Irish Labour Party]. That organization needs to be looked at.

I think we've got to push on not just in the work we're doing on repression and in building the mass movement, we've got to take up the serious task of building a unified revolutionary party.

### Prospects for unity

I speak for myself because I know that there are many differences in our own organization as to how close we are to being able to form such a party. I know that there are still a number of major issues to be resolved. But it still remains my contention, that given the situation on the ground, given the developments, the upturn in the struggle, that the differences between the organizations, particularly those between PD-MSR and ISP, are insufficient to justify maintaining separate groups.





IRA fighter in Derry. Provisionals counterpose armed struggle to mass action.

four members of the IRSP in Dublin takes on special importance. It raises issues that are essentially the same as those raised by the antirepression movement in the north. It exposes the whole system of repression necessary to maintain imperialist domination of the country as a whole, both in the direct form that exists in the north and the neocolonial form that exists in the south. These young men are on trial for allegedly robbing a train and threatened with fifteen to twenty-five year sentences. But the real reason they are before the court is that they are leaders of a party that raised awkward questions and made life difficult for the authorities.

No evidence has been offered against them apart from confessions extracted under torture. In fact the use of torture against them was so blatant that it was one of the things that began the mass reaction against the last Dublin government, which was overwhelmingly defeated in the elections last June.

### Repression in south

The continuation of this case, after the government and the police chief that initiated it were thrown out of office by a massive vote of the people in the south, shows that the Fianna Fáil regime is basically no different from the one that preceded it. But the victory of Fianna Fáil [traditionally considered the more anti-imperialist of the two bourgeois parties] shows that the conditions for fighting this kind of repression are much more favorable than before.

There is a great deal at stake in this case, even more than the lives of four young men, who could spend the better part of their adult lives in prison if convicted.

The fact that confessions obviously extorted by torture have been ruled admissible as evidence shows that the special criminal courts set up in the south to try political cases are basically kangaroo courts. We have already seen here in the north how a police force can put away a large number of political oppositionists by systematically beating confessions out of them. The IRSP case is the beginning of this in the south. And we saw in the case of internment, how the Dublin regime waits for the British to test a repressive technique in the north before they apply it themselves.

If the authorities get away with convicting these young men on the basis of extorted confessions, they will not be the last to be sent away on long terms of imprisonment on the same basis.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

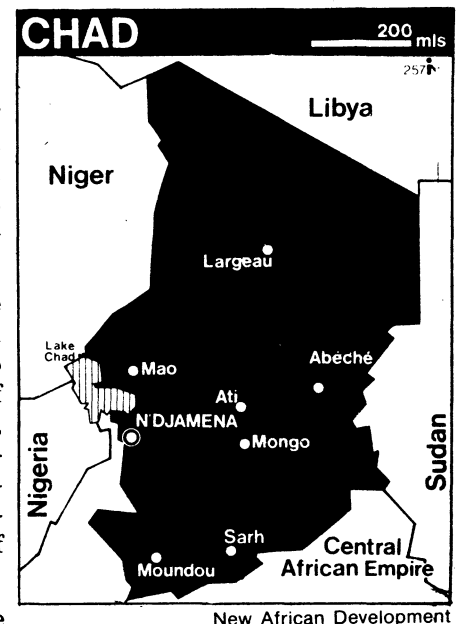
## World news notes

### French imperialists intervene in Chad

The French government admitted April 26 that it had dispatched "several hundred" troops to Chad, one of its former colonies. Hundreds of French "advisers" are already stationed in Chad, and some news reports have placed the new reinforcements at more than 1,000.

Chad's pro-imperialist regime faces growing opposition from antigovernment guerrillas, who reportedly control two-thirds of the country. At the same time, demonstrations have been reported against the ruling military junta and the French military presence in a number of towns.

French officials deny that the reinforcements have been sent to fight the guerrillas. They claim that French troops will only provide "technical assistance" to the Chad military and that they will protect French training centers and residents. Similar arguments were used by Paris in December 1977, when its planes bombed Saharan guerrillas, supposedly to "protect" French civilians in Mauritania. Such arguments were also used by Washington in the early 1960s to justify its intervention in Vietnam.



### Millions celebrate May Day

Millions of workers around the world united in celebrating May Day, the international labor holiday. In Spain, 300,000 workers marched in Madrid, and 700,000 marched in other cities in the first legal May Day celebrations in four decades. The Francoist dictatorship had tried to bury the memory of May Day by proclaiming May 1 a religious holiday—the day of St. Joseph the worker.

The Madrid demonstration was jointly sponsored by union federations led by the Communist and Social Democratic parties, and reporters noted the loudest chant was "Unity! Unity!"

Another inspiring demonstration took place in Santiago, Chile, where workers tried to hold a May Day celebration despite savage police repression. Two hundred persons were reportedly arrested, including seventy-eight-year-old Clotario Blest, founder of the Central Workers Union, who was repeatedly struck by police while they were arresting him.

In Japan, authorities estimated that 2 million people attended more than 1,000 rallies across the country. Some 100,000 rallied in Istanbul, Turkey. And there were countless other events around the world.

### Attack on Québec socialist offices

The Montreal offices of the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire and the socialist newspaper *Lutte Ouvrière* were the targets of attempted arson April 7. An adjacent building was heavily damaged, and the door to the socialist headquarters was charred.

The attack came only days before the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Workers League, the counterpart in Canada of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, announced its intention to field candidates in the coming federal elections. The LOR/RWL will make defense of Québec's right to independence a centerpiece of their campaign.

The LOR/RWL is demanding a complete police investigation of the attempted arson, noting that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canada's FBI, has admitted carrying out fire-bomb attacks in the past against groups that support Québécois independence.

Messages demanding a complete investigation should be sent to the Montreal police with copies to: LOR, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, H2X 1L1, Montreal, Québec, Canada.

### Sri Lanka unions rip antilabor law

Sixteen of the most important trade unions in Sri Lanka have formed a Joint Trade Union Action Committee to carry out protest activities against antilabor laws proposed by the regime.

The Sri Lanka government wants to make all strikes illegal in sectors deemed to be "essential services." The new laws would require at least three weeks' advance notice for any strike. It would also make workers taking part in illegal strikes subject to automatic dismissal.

Thirteen of the unions have issued a joint statement saying the laws aim at "more ruthless exploitation" of workers by "foreign and local capital." One of the signers of the statement is Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and leader of the Revolutionary Marxist Party, Sri Lankan sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

In a display of international solidarity, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo), which has a membership of 4.7 million, sent a letter to the Sri Lanka Regime March 8 protesting the threatened restrictions on the union movement.

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## Interview on eve of return

# Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco back in Peru



Blanco speaking in La Convención, Peru, during brief return from exile in 1976

Hugo Blanco returned to Peru from exile in Sweden on April 12. He was greeted at the Lima airport by a large demonstration organized by FOCEP, a coalition of workers parties and union organizations. Blanco is a candidate for the constituent assembly on a slate supported by FOCEP.

Before leaving Sweden, Blanco was interviewed by a number of Swedish papers. The following interview was published in the April 6 issue of the Stockholm daily 'Dagens Nyheter', Sweden's most prestigious mass-circulation daily. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

The Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco is returning to his country on Tuesday [April 11]. Except for a short period two years ago, he has been a political refugee in Sweden since 1973.

The Peruvian military government has granted an amnesty to political refugees as part of the preparation for the elections this summer to a constituent assembly.

"The elections are a farce," Hugo Blanco told us.

The elections are scheduled for June. They are supposed to be only the military government's first step toward handing power over to a civilian regime. The next step is to be presidential and legislative elections in 1980.

Two and a half million illiterates have no vote [out of a total population of about sixteen million]. To get on the ballot, parties have to present the signatures of 40,000 supporters, but the time granted for collecting petitions is extremely short.

"Besides this, the authorities have obstructed the petitioning and falsified the results," Blanco said. He continued:

"There have been cases where police have arrested petitioners and destroyed their petitions. I am running on the slate of FOCEP [Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular—Workers, Peasants, Students, and Popular Front]. This group collected 47,000 signatures but the court recognized only 19,000, even though the rest were perfectly legal. Now there are only ten days left in the period allotted for the recognition of parties. In this time, we have to collect another 21,000 signatures."\*

The traditionally largest party in Peru is the APRA [Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana—People's Revolutionary American Alliance]. In previous elections in which this party has been allowed to participate, it has gotten at least 30 percent of the vote. It was originally a left party but now stands on the right. The other right-

wing parties are ex-President Belaúnde's party, Acción Popular [People's Action], as well as the Christian People's Party, the PPC.

The splintered left includes the Moscow-oriented PCP [Partido Comunista Peruano—Peruvian Communist Party] and the PSR [Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist Party].

Besides these parties, so-called grassroots organizations are allowed to run. The FOCEP, on whose slate Hugo Blanco is running, is one of these. It is a left front including union organizations and the Trotskyist party, the PST [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party].

"The left has no illusions about the elections," Blanco stressed. "It is assumed that the right will win. The military government's aim is to remain in power with the support of APRA.

"But the government's position has weakened as a result of the severe economic crisis and increased freedom of expression."

The country is beset by galloping inflation. The economy is dependent on foreign credits, especially loans from the International Monetary Fund.

"Dependence on foreign capital must be reduced," Blanco said. "The establishment of foreign firms in the country must be stopped."

In 1976, protests against the military government grew as a result of the economic crisis. The government responded by declaring a state of emergency, instituting a curfew, and banning what independent publications existed.

In 1977, the situation worsened, and there was a spontaneous popular uprising in southern Peru. These conditions forced a national general strike. The government had 5,000 union leaders fired from their jobs. But at the same time, it was forced to lift the state of emergency and the ban on independent publications.

The union leaders still have not got their jobs back. Hugo Blanco thinks that it is important to fight for their reinstatement and he believes that support from other countries can play a big role in achieving this goal.

"In the Volvo factory in Peru also, union leaders have been fired. The Peruvian Volvo workers have appealed for help in a letter to the Swedish Volvo workers, and it is important that they get support here in Sweden [where Volvo is centered]."

The land reform the military government carried out after 1968 resulted in the transformation of some big estates into cooperatives. But according to Blanco, these cooperatives are run in an exploitative way by the state, which has stepped into the shoes of the landlords.

"It wasn't really a land reform," Blanco said. "What happened was that the peasants in certain regions took over through a struggle against the landlords and thereby gained a higher living standard. That was the case in the valley of La Con-

ción, where I helped to organize a peasant uprising in the 1960s.

"The local trade-union organization to which I belonged bought a caterpillar and two trucks. It built a road, and the sons and daughters of illiterates are able to go to school as a result."

The left hopes to utilize the elections to propagate its views. The pretense of allowing free elections makes it more difficult for the regime to suppress opposition.

"But we should not have any illusions about democracy. In the crisis situation that prevails, the people will certainly utilize every increase in human rights to improve their situation. But when the class struggle becomes too sharp, repression will increase."

We asked if there were a danger of a rightist coup. "Yes," Blanco replied. "Former President Belaúnde wants to carry out a coup not only to avert the elections but also to crush the resistance of the people.

"But on the other hand, a rightist coup involves a risk of touching off a full-scale popular uprising. When the regime had a hard time crushing the resistance in the valley of La Convención, how much harder a time would it have in putting down an uprising throughout Peru?"

Hugo Blanco thinks that the amnesty for himself and the other political refugees is a result of the pressure the Peruvian masses have brought to bear on the military regime, and not pressure from outside.

"It would be a disappointment to those who have fought if I didn't go back," Hugo Blanco continued. "But I am not indispensable, and the regime knows that. It knows that the struggle will continue, with or without me. Moreover, the regime has used my name for its own purposes."

Blanco is not worried about his safety when he goes back. In the nine months he spent in Peru in 1975-76, the regime kept him under constant surveillance. A number of security policemen with cars and motorcycles were permanently stationed outside his house and followed him wherever he went.

"There is so much unrest in Peru today," Hugo Blanco said, "that they cannot assign so many people to me alone. The conflicts are much sharper than they were when I was last home."

Hugo Blanco does not think that his political role is exhausted and he still regards himself as a peasant leader. He is still a member of the leadership of the union of peasants and rural laborers, the CCP [Confederación Campesina del Perú]. It is there that he sees his main political task.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Workers fight antilabor offensive

A fresh wave of workers' struggles is challenging the Peruvian military regime. Copper miners in four different mining centers have held a series of strikes; workers have downed tools at the PICA shipyard in Chimbote; railroad workers have struck on several occasions; and in Arequipa, Peru's second-largest city, an indefinite general strike has shut down most industry, commerce, and transportation.

Continuing government-employer attacks on workers' rights have been the key reason for these strikes. The capitalist offensive was sharply escalated March 22 when the military regime decreed harsh new antilabor legislation.

Among the provisions of the new "labor stability" decree is one giving employers the right to carry out mass firings in the event of a strike or production slowdown. The decree also provides for the firing of workers who show "lack of respect for the employer, even away from the workplace."

In Arequipa, an indefinite general strike began April 5. According to the April 13 issue of the Lima weekly *Marka*, the first days of the Arequipa strike were marked by "a climate of intense agitation, . . . pickets in the streets, demonstrations, confrontations with the repressive forces—the most notable outcome of which was the death of an aged woman who fell attempting to flee a police attack."

The regime, in addition to stepping up police repression, is reportedly considering suspending or canceling the constituent assembly elections scheduled for June 4.

\*FOCEP collected 25,000 additional signatures and on March 7 the National Elections Court granted ballot status to the coalition.—IP/I



# Russell tribunal hits W. German witch-hunt

By Peter Archer

The West German government has launched a massive witch-hunt against all persons suspected of "disloyalty to the state." This campaign was intensified last September in the wake of the kidnapping of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer.

Although the campaign is allegedly aimed at "radicals" and "terrorists," its target is much broader. The ruling Social Democratic Party hopes to crush any working-class opposition arising from its austerity measures and its failure to solve the growing economic crisis in the country.

A blow was dealt this antidemocratic drive with the first session of the Third International Bertrand Russell Tribunal, held in Frankfurt March 29-April 4.

The tribunal, initiated by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, consists of a twenty-eight-member jury. It includes such figures as playwright Eric Bentley, Italian Socialist Party leader Riccardo Lombardi, and Yugoslav historian Vladimir Dedijer.

The tribunal's report was issued April 4.

In its first session the tribunal discussed the *Berufsverbot*—a decree barring political dissidents from public jobs.

The West German chancellor and heads of state governments declared in 1972 that "those appointed in the civil services are obliged to profess their loyalty to the free democratic basic order . . . and to commit themselves to its preservation."

The decree prohibited membership by civil servants in any organizations "which oppose the constitutional order."

Although the decree does not have any legal backing, its provisions have been widely enforced by government agencies. It affects not only workers in government offices but also teachers and other workers in schools and universities, railroad workers, postal employees, hospital workers, and others.



Through massive repression drive, W. German government hopes to resist growing unrest, reflected in youth demonstrations for jobs (top).

"The intelligence service," the tribunal's report stated, "operates on a huge scale to gather information about every kind of lawful political activity by German citizens: i.e., membership in

legal groups and parties, signing letters and petitions, attending public meetings, distributing pamphlets, participating in demonstrations, making speeches and publishing."

If information that throws doubt on the "loyalty" of a public worker is produced, the worker is subjected to an "interrogation." "The suspects are assumed to be guilty of being enemies of the constitution unless they can prove their 'innocence.' Their attempts to explain complex political matters are met with interruptions and demands to answer 'yes' or 'no.'"

In some cases, the tribunal reported, "people may be considered loyal, but, because of their associations, it may be judged that there is a risk that they might become disloyal."

Although the tribunal only investigated cases of victimization by the government, the report indicated that the *Berufsverbot* has been adopted in some cases by trade unions and professional bodies.

The *Berufsverbot* is a sensitive issue for a government that likes to pose as one of the most democratic in Western Europe. Former Chancellor Willy Brandt denounced the Russell Tribunal proceedings as "an insulting and scandalous exercise."

The International Marxist Group, German sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, pointed to the importance of the tribunal's report in its newspaper *Was Tun* (*What is to be Done*).

"Precisely because of its independence and methods of work," commented Christian Dettmann, writing in the March 23 issue, "it is possible for the tribunal to generate publicity that can reach into the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions. . . ."

"The task of the left groups is now to make use of this public attention and put forward perspectives for common actions; develop plans so that the attention is not allowed to fall back into everyday lethargy."

Dettmann suggested that there is now a basis for united action based on opposition to the repressive measures being taken by the German state, regardless of differing assessments of the SPD and other issues.

## Iranian Trotskyists: 'Iran out of Lebanon!'

The following statement was issued April 7 by the Political Committee of the Sattar League, Iranian sympathizing section of the Fourth International.

The shah of Iran has the distinction of being the first among the imperialists and their puppet regimes to send troops into Lebanon under the guise of the United Nations peacekeeping force. The shah's troops first went to Israel and, on March 22, crossed the border into Lebanon.

During the previous week Israeli aggression had already laid waste one-tenth of Lebanon, uprooting more than a quarter million Arab people—including 65,000 Palestinians—and driving them out of southern Lebanon.

This act of Israeli aggression is a continuation of the periodic onslaught of the expansionist Zionist state against the Arab people. The colonial-settler state of Israel came into existence by forcibly expropriating Palestinian land and expelling the Palestinians from their homeland. Ever since, Israel, with the help of U.S., British, and French imperialists, has used every opportunity to consolidate and expand its stolen domain and make millions of people homeless. In contrast to this criminal drive, the Palestinian liberation movement calls for a democratic, secular Palestine. The sentiment of the masses in Iran has always been with the Palestine liberation struggle.

Despite the pious and verbal polemics in the press, the U.S. government supports Israel politically and militarily. When President Carter welcomed Prime Minister Begin to Washington on March 20, Israeli tanks were still rolling in southern Lebanon. The Zionist state is the main imperialist stronghold in the Middle East, and a major force against the Arab revolution.

In their attempt to make further counterrevolutionary inroads against the Arab people, weaken the Palestinian resistance movement, help Israel to consolidate its gains, and cut off a massive response to Israeli brutality and occupation, the imperialists have sent in more troops to Lebanon under the guise of UN peacekeeping forces. If they were really peacekeeping forces they would have been sent to Israel, the source of war and aggression, and not to Lebanon.

These forces were sent into Lebanon to play the type of "peacekeeping" role they played in Korea in the early 1950s and in the Congo in the early 1960s. They are there to suppress the Arab people and further stifle the Palestinian resistance movement. The UN troops and the Israeli troops are two sides of the same coin. The shah's role makes this completely obvious.

Despite his occasional rhetoric, the shah has always looked to Israel as a major ally and supported it. He has provided oil for the Israeli military,



Iranian troops

exchanged spies, and imported Israeli instructors for SAVAK torturers. He has viewed the Arab masses with contempt and considered the Palestinian movement, which has been a source of inspiration to the masses of Iran, as dangerous to his throne.

The shah's troops will play the same aggressive role in Lebanon that they did against the Omani people two years ago, when they helped to suppress the Dhofari rebellion against the corrupt puppet sultan. They will play the same role in Lebanon that they play in oppressing the Arab people inside Iran who, along with the other oppressed nationalities such as the Baluchis, Kurds, and Azerbaijanis—are denied their national and cultural rights. They will play the same repressive role in Lebanon that they do against the toilers and masses of Iran.

Iran's censored press is trying to portray the presence of the shah's troops in Lebanon as pro-Arab. This is a blatant lie that must be exposed. Our people have no interest in this reactionary plot against the right to self-determination of the Arab people. In solidarity with the Palestinian resistance movement and the Arab people, the demands must be raised:

Get the shah's troops out of Lebanon now!

Stop the shah's support to Israel!  
Israel out of Lebanon and all Arab territory!

Palestine for the Palestinians!

# Canadian labor movement

## Congress discusses independent political action

By Nancy Cole

QUEBEC CITY, Québec—Political discussion is nothing new for labor gatherings in Canada. But the recent convention here of the Canadian Labor Congress—the cross-country labor federation—opened new doors for a debate on perspectives that is urgently needed in English Canada and Québec.

More than 2,400 delegates representing the federation's 2.3 million members met here April 3-7. The expected announcement by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau of new federal elections this June was a focus for the convention.

Delegates approved a proposal for a vigorous effort to back candidates of the New Democratic Party, English Canada's mass labor party.

The right of the predominantly French-speaking province of Québec to choose independence is sure to be one of the hottest issues in the elections, and it was an important question before CLC delegates.

Another question debated here was the CLC leaders' strategy of "tripartism"—a strategy that exchanges the labor movement's independence for a "partnership" in decision making with government and industry.

These discussions of perspectives for the labor movement occurred against the backdrop of Canada's economic crisis and the resulting government attacks on workers' rights and livelihoods.

### Record unemployment

The Canadian economy has gone through three years of economic stagnation. The unemployment rate—which reached 9.7 percent in March, the highest since the 1930s depression years—is the greatest of any advanced capitalist country. More than 1 million Canadian workers are officially out of work.

It was no surprise then that the official theme of the convention proceedings here was "jobs first." Banners around the room proclaimed in French and English, "We want action, Jobs . . . Jobs," "The



Militant/Nancy Cole

CLC convention discussion focused on how to counter antilabor assault by Trudeau government

Right to a Job is a Basic Freedom," and, "Full Employment is possible [illustrated with a drawing of a mass demonstration]."

But many delegates here questioned whether the proposals presented by the CLC leadership would do anything to prevent labor from losing more ground or to block new attacks.

While the CLC officials tried to stifle debate on this and other issues, dissenting views were consistently voiced. This was thanks largely to the leadership of the caucus of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW).

On every major issue throughout the five-day meeting, CUPW delegates argued for an action perspective for Canadian unions, they defended Québec self-determination and argued against tripartism.

### Wage controls

The owners of Canada's wealth escalated their assault on working people in 1975 with the imposition of wage controls. Since that time, real wages have declined, social services have been cut, and unemployment benefits restricted.

Wage controls are supposed to gradually end by the end of this year. But the government has plenty of other tricks up its sleeve to keep wages down and thus better the competitive edge of Canadian corporations in the international market.

The alarm was sounded against one of these tricks at the CLC convention. Bill C-28, now before Parliament, provides controls on public employees by tying their wages to their counterparts in the private sector. It was denounced here as "collective bargaining by computer" and a threat to the entire labor movement.

In the one display of unity at the convention, delegates voted unanimously for an emergency resolution calling on the CLC to "do everything in its power to defeat" C-28, including "demonstrations, meetings, lobbies, or other actions."

The 1976 CLC convention had responded to Trudeau's wage controls with a call for a one-day protest strike.

On October 14, 1976, more than 1 million Canadian workers gave up a day's pay to join the first cross-Canadian political strike. It was the largest united action ever of English Canadian and Québécois workers. One-third of the organized labor force participated.

In assessing that action for delegates at this year's convention, outgoing CLC President Joe Morris called it an "outstanding success." It established the CLC "as the national voice of labor," he said.

The one-day protest didn't end wage controls, of course. The CLC tops chose not to use it—and the political discussion it generated among unionists—as the first step toward a series of bigger mobilizations that could have put a halt to the controls.

Instead, the labor bureaucrats tried to use the mobilization to bargain for partnership with government and business in Canada's economic decision making.

### Tripartism

The same convention that authorized October 14 also adopted with little debate the CLC "Manifesto." This policy document formally okayed the turn toward tripartism. Concretely, it proposed bodies at the government level that would include

CLC representatives, along with those from government and industry.

After the 1976 convention, almost every provincial labor federation across Canada voted to reject tripartism.

"We believe the nature of the economic system in Canada is such that there are two, not three, basic economic interest groups," declared a resolution approved by the British Columbia Federation of Labor. Those groups, the resolution went on, are those "whose lives are spent working for someone else to earn their living," and "those who own, manage, or control the Canadian economy."

There's no way to have a "full partnership," the federation said, "where two of the three so-called interest groups are in reality one and the same."

The Saskatchewan federation went further: "We need a basic restructuring of our economic system. . . . Tripartism, rather than pursuing those ends, will instead involve labour in managing the existing system. Our system runs in the interests of the people who own and control wealth. Why should we help them run it?"

By the time of the convention here, tripartism had been so totally discredited, that the term was dropped from official policy proposals.

In its place was the "industrial strategy," a more loosely formulated equation that would allow for a new try at tripartism or bipartism, or multipartism, as CLC President Morris put it in his opening speech.

### 'No power'

"We did not have the power to resist wage controls, which we set as a prerequisite for getting into a tripartite body," Morris said, neatly dispens-



Militant/Nancy Cole

CLC President Joe Morris claimed unions have no power to fight wage controls.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Postal workers leader Jean-Claude Parrot called for action to defend workers' interests.

## Socialists say: 'Vote NDP!'

In the upcoming federal elections in Canada, the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire, sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, urges a big vote for the New Democratic Party (NDP).

The NDP is a mass labor party in English Canada. The RWL sees a vote for the NDP as the way labor can oppose the big-business-controlled Liberal and Conservative parties and their assault on the living standards of working people.

In calling for a vote for the NDP, the RWL in no way expresses any confidence in the reformist NDP leadership or the program it stands for. It urges the NDP to adopt a fighting program for labor, including the demand for Québec self-determination.

The RWL explains that the only way the NDP can wage an effective fight for working people is to adopt socialist policies.

The RWL will soon announce a slate of candidates from major cities in both English Canada and Québec who will campaign for this perspective.

In Québec, the NDP is very small and isolated. There the RWL urges the labor movement to run independent labor candidates in the coming elections and to form a mass Québec labor party.



# debates perspectives

## and self-determination for Quebec

ing with all the CLC's failings over the last two years.

The new policy statement called on the labor movement to "develop its own countervailing power."

"Our efforts must be directed to organizing the unorganized to increase labour's base of power. That power must be used to expand the scope of collective bargaining; it must be channeled into electoral support for the New Democratic Party to give labour parliamentary and political influence; and it must be expressed through the Canadian Labour Congress to give labour a strong national voice and the capacity to protect the collective rights of all workers."

This new policy statement, Jean-Claude Parrot told the delegates, is "all words and rhetoric." Parrot is president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers.

"There's no action in it," he declared. "It doesn't say what we are to do. It reads well on paper . . . but how will we get this power? How will we build the strength and power of our membership?"

Montreal Postal Workers President Marcel Perreault charged the CLC was "missing the boat" with this strategy because it looked to the government instead of offering leadership for the federation's membership.

"The labor movement has to return to its roots," he said. "The root of the labor movement is fighting."

Included in the CUPW proposal was a campaign around the thirty-hour workweek with no loss in pay and a commitment by the CLC to organize a general strike if the government announces new wage controls.

One United Electrical Workers delegate objected to Morris's declaration of the organization's lack of power. "We did have the power to defeat the wage controls," he argued, "but we abdicated to the corporations."

He went on to say that a labor action campaign was not counterposed to support for the NDP in the upcoming elections. "We just can't always wait for elections, because the working class will never vote the NDP into power that way." He contended that working people would be won to support the NDP as a result of "mobilizing workers in action."

As with most other votes at the convention, the official policy document passed—with several hundred opposed.

### Québec

The CLC has never taken a stand on Québec before. But events since the last convention made it impossible to continue that abstention.

In November 1976, the capitalist Parti Québécois (PQ) took office in Québec, elected by a militant working class that believed the PQ's pledge to achieve independence for the province.

Canadian rulers answered the election of the PQ with a massive anti-Québec propaganda offensive—masquerading as a plea for "Canadian unity." Trudeau threatened to use the "sword" to block Québec independence, even if the majority of Québécois people vote for it in a referendum scheduled for 1979.

But national conventions of the United Steelworkers, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, and the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) have all adopted resolutions in support of self-determination for Québec.

The CLC Executive Council worked overtime to come up with a statement that could skirt the issue of self-determination yet not totally alienate the Québec wing of the federation.

It came up with a resolution on "national solidarity," which asserted the right of CLC members in Québec "to determine our political and constitutional future." But on the other hand it called for the "commencement of negotiations among Québec and the rest of Canada."

As the next day's *Toronto Globe and Mail's* headline put it, "CLC goes both ways in unity debate."

CUPE delegate Kathy Beeman hit the Québec resolution as "insufficient" and "open to several interpretations." Beeman is a member of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

Beeman argued that solidarity among English Canadian and Québécois workers is absolutely

necessary to fight unemployment, inflation, and the cutbacks in social services. "Such solidarity can only be based on clear, unambiguous, unequivocal support for each others' struggles," she declared.

### 'No negotiations'

"Negotiation is the opposite of self-determination," Beeman said. "If we mean self-determination, we should say so" and "dissociate the workers movement from the chauvinist 'national unity' campaign."

Before the convention session, the several-hundred-strong Québec caucus had split over the resolution, with only a narrow majority voting to support it.

In the last minutes of the floor debate, Québec Federation of Labor President Louis Laberge spoke—in English—from the platform to push for the statement's approval.

Laberge dubbed the division on the statement "shameful," arguing that the labor movement must be united on the important economic issues.

"I have to live in Québec," he demagogically proclaimed. "Do you think I would support this resolution if it shied away from self-determination?"

About 85 percent of the delegates voted for the statement, probably most of them believing it a vote for self-determination.

### Cheers for NDP

When New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent addressed the delegates on the fourth day of



October 14, 1976, demonstration in Montreal. Canadian unions organized general strike against government wage controls, but leadership failed to carry out an ongoing fight.

the convention, he was greeted both before and after his speech with a prolonged standing ovation.

The NDP has mass support in English Canada, including the formal endorsement of the CLC and individual unions. In the province of Saskatchewan, the NDP controls the government.

"I say to you," Broadbent announced to cheers, "if we have one more unemployed Canadian, let that person be Pierre Elliot Trudeau."

"We need a government today that will commit itself to the goal of full employment," Broadbent said.

In a news conference afterward, Broadbent said the NDP had "no intention of an alliance with the Tories or Liberals." He called the two capitalist parties "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" and said it would be "disastrous" if either were to continue governing the country.

Despite recent polls that indicate only 17 percent of voters support the NDP, Broadbent spoke confidently of the elections. He said the NDP had "more committed support from labor leaders in Canada than ever before."

And he pointed to the general attitude among working people that the Liberals had betrayed labor with the imposition of wage controls.

However, like the CLC leadership, Broadbent offered no concrete steps to mobilize unionists in a fight for jobs, promising the NDP's own detailed

"industrial strategy" program in the near future.

The most wide ranging debate at the convention occurred around constitutional questions. Proposals to raise dues and the salaries of CLC officials provoked heated disagreement.

An attempt to change the voting procedures for future conventions to "weighted votes" (based on the actual number of members each delegate represents) was the hottest issue. As it is now, every union local is guaranteed a delegate no matter what its size.

Delegates charged the proposed change was "block voting" in disguise, a proposal that was soundly defeated at the last convention.

One delegate warned that the change sounded too much like the way things work in the AFL-CIO in the United States. "We don't need that kind of organization here," he said.

United Auto Workers President Dennis McDermott, who was elected the new CLC president, declared that "chaos is not democracy." But to no avail. The two-thirds majority needed to pass a constitutional amendment failed to materialize, and weighted voting was defeated.

It was the only vote to get so out of hand, however. The proceedings were tightly controlled, for the most part shamelessly so by CLC President Morris. When he wanted to cut off debate, he merely called the question from the chair.

Delegates who protested this violation of parliamentary procedure were ignored. When a CUPW delegate complained and then flicked Morris an

unflattering hand gesture as he walked away from the microphone, the CLC president had him physically removed from the convention floor.

It was shortly after this display that Lloyd McBride, international president of the United Steelworkers, brought greetings from the AFL-CIO.

McBride earned distinction as the biggest red-baiter of the entire convention. Departing from his prepared remarks, he began, "We've done a better job in the United States of identifying our enemies."

He went on to describe the "outsiders"—who he said were extreme right-wingers and extreme left-wingers. "We must make sure that our decisions are not made at meetings of the Chamber of Commerce or by caucuses of people outside the union," he declared in a direct attack on the militant postal workers.

It was not the only red-baiting nor the only attempt to isolate the convention's militant left wing. The CLC officials frequently resorted to red-baiting in hopes of silencing delegates' challenges to their policies.

But the debate and discussion occurred nonetheless.

"For union militants," wrote Judy Rebeck in the revolutionary biweekly *Socialist Voice*, the CLC convention "marks the beginning of a real struggle for a mass-action strategy and for union independence."

## Quote unquote

"Government inspectors in 13 visits in 1973 found 'numerous' safety violations at a West Virginia power company construction site where 51 workers died today, the Labor Department reported.

"But department officials said that they had not been able to determine yet if there was a link between the violations and the disaster."  
—New York Times, April 27, 1978, report on West Virginia disaster

"The damn concrete was gray yesterday morning. They shouldn't have moved that scaffolding up. I guess they just wanted production, and that's what they got."  
—Darrell Bailey, construction worker at disaster site

## WOMEN'S PENSIONS

The Supreme Court ruled on April 25 that company pension plans can no longer deduct more from women workers' paychecks than from men's. The court rejected the companies' argument that women should pay more because, on the average, women live longer than men.

Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackman noted that this decision may undermine the court's 1976 ruling on pregnancy disability benefits. That ruling said that excluding pregnancy from company medical insurance plans was not sex discrimination.

## VICTORY FOR HOTEL WORKERS

Local 11 of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees union have reversed a policy of denying noncitizen members the right to run for union office.

Officials of the 22,000-member local agreed to waive the policy after the American Civil Liberties Union of south-

ern California filed court action on behalf of Daniel Ruiz, a *mexicano* worker with resident status who filed to run in the April 25 local union election. The local includes many non-citizens.

Since the policy originates with the International union, Local 11 officials also agreed to call upon International officers to end the reactionary policy.

## SOUTH AFRICA FORUM

On April 21, the Brooklyn Militant Forum's topic was "Southern Africa: The Struggle for Freedom." The speakers were Judge William Booth, president of the American Committee on Africa, and *Militant* staff writer Omari Musa.

Booth told the audience, "The only way there's going to be any change in our policy . . . to be on the right side for a change, is to get the people of the United States up in arms about it."

He cited the anti-Vietnam War movement as an example of what needs to be done about the U.S. role in South Africa.

Musa pointed to the U.S. stake in South Africa. "U.S. banks have provided more than \$2.2 billion in loans to the racist regime, and corporations have \$1.7 billion invested there."

Musa agreed with Judge Booth on the need to organize against U.S. support to South Africa around the demands of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. corporations and no political, military, or economic aid to the apartheid regime.

## GAY WORKER SUES

On his first day at work at the Owens-Illinois glass and plastics factory in Bridgeton, New Jersey, Charles Harris was sent home. The company told him, "Your reputation has preceded you." But Harris's former boss described him as "intelligent, industrious, resourceful . . . a dependable worker."

Owens-Illinois sent Harris home only because he is gay. Harris has sued the company for \$800,000 and is challenging the right of a boss to fire workers without cause. "I'm

just doing what is right," Harris said. "I was discriminated against, I was insulted, and I think I deserve some compensation for it."

## WILMINGTON 10 RALLY

Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the Wilmington Ten, will speak at a broadly sponsored defense rally in New York City May 11. Joining her on the platform will be Helen Sobell, Village-Chelsea NAACP President Leon Harris, New York National Organization for

Women President Noreen Connell, and others.

The meeting has been endorsed by Benjamin Hooks, national executive director of the NAACP; Victor Gotbaum, president of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and others.

Turner is currently on a tour sponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. The May 11 rally will take place at 7:30 p.m. at the Community Church, 40 East Thirty-fifth Street.

## From Detroit to Skokie

About 150 people attended a victory rally in Detroit April 30 called by the Labor-Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis. The rally celebrated the closing of a Nazi storefront headquarters that had opened recently in southwest Detroit. It was held in Clark Park near the storefront, which rally organizers have now rented as an anti-Nazi information center.

Larry Gittleson of the Concerned Jewish Citizens of Skokie, Illinois, spoke at the rally about plans by Nazis to march through that town next month. Skokie is the home of many survivors of Hitler's concentration camps.

If the Nazis go ahead with their march, Gittleson said, there will be a counterdemonstration in Skokie that same day. He invited supporters of the anti-Nazi movement in Detroit to attend that protest.

Paul Boatin, a retired United Auto Workers local official and chairperson of the Detroit anti-Nazi council, said that the group would continue, despite the closing of the Nazi headquarters. Mobilizing support for Skokie's Jewish community will be the groups's next focus, he said.

The Labor-Community-Interfaith Council was initiated earlier this year by UAW Local 600. It has sponsored protest meetings of up to 600 against the Nazis, as well as a large car caravan that circled the block of the headquarters displaying anti-Nazi slogans.



Cops guarding Detroit Nazi headquarters before it closed down

## HEALTH CARE WORKERS WIN

After two and a half weeks on strike, the 200 employees of New York City's North East Neighborhood Association (NENA) clinic forced management to recognize their union, District 1199 Hospital and Health Care Employees. The clinic serves the city's Lower East Side.

NENA workers had tried to discuss their demands with management for six months before finally going on strike. As they explained in a statement distributed in Spanish and English to community residents, "The management has treated us with contempt and insults and has refused to negotiate with us. It is impossible to provide you and your families with the best medical care when we ourselves are treated so shabbily."

The NENA workers won wide support from Lower East Side residents as well as from doctors and nurses at the center.

## TOWNLEY CHARGED

On April 26 the U.S. government charged Michael Townley with conspiracy in the murder of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt. Government lawyers identified Townley—an American—as an agent of the Chilean secret police.

Letelier was a Chilean ambassador under President Salvador Allende. In 1976 a bomb planted under his car in Washington, D.C., killed Letelier and Moffitt, a research assistant.

According to one government lawyer, Townley "will supply information both about what went on here and the planning in Chile."

Two counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, Guillermo Novo Sampol and Alvin Ross Diaz, have been transferred to a federal jail in New York City. They are also wanted for questioning about Letelier's murder.

## WHY DERAILMENTS?

The spate of train derailments this year, several of them fatal, has focused attention on the railroad industry's

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

**LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMICS.** A special three-part class. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, former associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*. Fri., May 12, 7:30 p.m.; Sat., May 13, 9 & 12 a.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1 each day. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

**LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST HUELGA.** See the Farm Workers' film 'Huelga' and participate in a discussion on the UFW today. Discussion leader: Harry Ring, 'Militant' Southwest Bureau. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

## FLORIDA MIAMI

**BENEFIT FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN.** Film: 'Mexico: the Frozen Revolution'. Speaker: Bob Angles, Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

## ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**PLAN FOR NATIONAL VETERANS MARCH ON WASHINGTON AND TENT- IN JUNE 1-10.** For more information call (312) 922-0065 or (212) 690-6980.

## LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEK-END ON MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION.** Speaker: Tony Thomas, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m.; Sat., May 13, 1 & 3 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation: \$1 or 50¢ per class. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

## MARYLAND BALTIMORE

**WHO RULES BALTIMORE?** Speaker: Ollie Bivens, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## NEW JERSEY NEWARK

**DEFENSE OF GAY RIGHTS.** A panel discussion. Speakers: An Comtois, Gay Activist Alliance N.J.; Edie Selzer, president, Rutgers Gay Educational Community; Alice Conner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK ALBANY

**STOP THE DEATH PENALTY.** Documentary film 'Attica.' Speaker: Kate Livingston, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

## NEW YORK CITY

**WHAT DOES THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT REALLY SAY AND WHAT DOES IT REALLY MEAN?** Teach-in. Speakers: Elizabeth Holtzman, Karen Burstein, Bella Abzug, Brenda White, Erica Jong. Sat., May 13, 1 p.m. 27 Barrow St. Ausp: National Organization for Women. For more information call (212) 989-7230.

## NYC: CHELSEA

**THE HOLOCAUST: A SOCIALIST VIEW.** Speaker: David Frankel, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

## OHIO

**CINCINNATI NATIVE AMERICANS IN STRUGGLE.** Speakers: Harold Ironshield, Native American activist; others. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan (near Peebles Corner). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

## OREGON PORTLAND

**THE FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS.** Speakers: representative of Eugene Citizens for Human Rights; representative of Portland Town Council; Louise Haberbusch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate and member of International Association of Machinists Local 1005. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams.

Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

## WASHINGTON TACOMA

**THE CASE AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

## WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

**THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE UNITED STATES.** Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, political refugee from Mexico. Tues., May 9, 7:30 p.m. Milwaukee Christian Center, 2137 W. Greenfield Ave. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (414) 264-5197.

**THE 'WORKFARE' PROGRAM: HOW THE GOVERNMENT RIPS OFF POOR PEOPLE.** Speakers: Mary Griswold, Workfare Coalition; others. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 455-2076.





### Chicago school desegregation



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Chicago Black students in last fall's busing program

Black community groups and other school desegregation supporters mobilized for a school board meeting in Chicago on April 12.

In recent months racists have dominated the school board meetings, using them as platforms for their antibusing views. But the presence of desegregation supporters kept the bigots from dominating this meeting.

State and federal officials have ordered the board to come up with a desegregation plan. Currently Chicago has the most segregated school system in the country. The April 12 board meet-

ing approved a city-wide desegregation proposal, but it is voluntary and minimal.

Rev. Ed Reddick of Operation PUSH blasted the plan as inadequate. Saladin El-Tabak of the Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism called the plan a concession to racist antibusing forces. "What's needed is a city-wide, two-way, mandatory busing plan," he said.

Before the meeting, the NAACP announced plans to file suit in federal court for the implementation of a mandatory busing plan.

lack of concern for the safety of rail workers, passengers, and the public.

No Acts of God, of the 8,000 train derailments last year, about 4,300 were caused by poorly maintained roadbeds, according to Transportation Secretary Brock Adams.

#### IMMIGRANTS

Latin Americans and Asians make up the largest group of recent immigrants to the United States, according to a State Department report. The number of Asian immigrants—especially Filipinos, Koreans, Indians, and Chinese—is growing rapidly and will probably soon become the largest group, the report said.

Over the decade covered by the report, Latin Americans

were the largest group of immigrants. Nearly 150,000 were admitted to the United States in fiscal 1976.

#### BLOW TO ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The Supreme Court April 24 upheld the right of the University of Colorado Regents to refuse to hire H. Bruce Franklin as a professor of English. Franklin was approved by the English faculty, the dean, and the university chancellor.

But the regents cared nothing about Franklin's qualifications as a teacher and authority on Herman Melville. They victimized him because of his outspoken opposition to the Vietnam War and his Maoist political views.

**Bolstering foreign aid?**—We noticed President Carter is slowing down the scheduled reduction of U.S. military forces in South Korea and couldn't help wondering if he's concerned about a weakening of the Seoul regime. Which could be a financial body blow to the U.S. Congress.

**Drip-dry**—Tired of that raunchy old sweat suit? The new Neiman-Marcus store in Newport Beach is featuring a sable running outfit. \$20,000.

**Bonus system**—Some people are moaning about the decline of the dollar. But not Bernard Cornfeld, the international swindler. He did eleven months in a Swiss jail for fraud but got most charges dropped. That means he gets back the \$1.5 million bail he posted in Swiss francs. With the present exchange rate, Cornfeld figures he'll clear \$300,000 on the deal.

**Gang of Four tour**—A travel blurb advises: "This year there's no need to go to China to see Maoism in action. Tiny Albania has declared its solidarity with Chairman Mao and, for the first time, JET-TREK is offering a holiday to this mountainous 'Land of the Eagles.' Social experiment in action, but with scenery too. . . ."

**Suggestion box**—Workers need less supervision, not more, says Alfred Marrow, president of the American Board of Psychology. He suggests that industry fire half its bosses. We second that, with a small amendment—put the other half to work.

**Thought for the week**—"Nothing's free any more."—A Woodbridge, New Jersey, gas station proprietor explaining why he now charges a quarter for air if the customer buys nothing else.

## Union Talk

### Rail newsletter causes stir

This week's column was written by Johanna Ryan, a member of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Lodge 3012, in Philadelphia. Ryan has been laid off and is now working in the auto industry.

PHILADELPHIA—The *Railroad-workers Fightback Newsletter\** caused quite a stir when I was working on the railroads this past winter.

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE) represents track laborers and building and bridge workers at Amtrak and ConRail. Maintenance of Way workers do some of the hardest, dirtiest, and lowest-paying work in the entire railroad industry.

More than half of Lodge 3012's membership consists of Black and other minority workers who for years have been denied the opportunity to enter the more skilled rail crafts, as well as women who until recently were totally excluded from most railroad jobs.

So the *Fightback Newsletter* met with a friendly response on the tracks in Philadelphia. Bundles were passed out to track gangs, and the proposals for greater union democracy and unity of railroad workers were welcomed by just about everyone.

Everyone except Harold C. Crotty, the BMWE's national president. He sent out a memo to district officers warning them to stay clear of this newsletter.

"Although the Brotherhood is sympathetic to the problems discussed in the newsletter," Crotty wrote, "I must inform you that the measures advocated by these individuals are detrimental to the objectives being pursued by all the railway brotherhoods in the current negotiations. It is unfortunate that such divisive efforts are being undertaken by a handful of individuals who have been associated with the railway labor movement for only a short time."

He went on to flatly forbid any lodge to contribute to the newsletter.

Just what were these "divisive" and "detrimental" measures that the newsletter called for? The memo didn't mention anything specific, so I went back and reread the newsletter to find out what proposals upset Crotty so much.

The right to vote on contracts, I noticed,

\*The newsletter, featuring a "Call to all railroad workers to defend our unions," was published in January by a group of local union officers and activists. Copies are available from P.O. Box 52, Enderlin, North Dakota 58027.

was pretty prominent. And that's one thing BMWE members don't have. There's a lot of sentiment among track and building workers for the right to decide what our working conditions will be for the next three years.

One simple demand the newsletter raises is the right of union members to know what is going on in the negotiations between the union and the company. Does Crotty oppose that?

As for the right to strike—we know from our own day-to-day experience that a union that cannot strike cannot protect itself from wholesale contract violations. For fifty years railroad workers have suffered under a Railway Labor Act that makes almost any effective strike illegal.

When the companies lay off thousands of our members—as Amtrak and ConRail did in 1977—or impose unsafe working conditions that jeopardize our lives, we have no way of fighting back.

Finally, the newsletter calls on all railroad workers to unite to counter the companies' attacks. "Railroad workers from all crafts, Black and white workers, men and women, must get together in order to organize a powerful united movement that can defend our wages, jobs, and working conditions," it says. What is divisive about that?

The track workers I talked to were not too pleased with Crotty's memorandum. "Who the hell is he to tell us what to think?" was one response. "I didn't think it was such a radical newsletter; it was just a very clear call for union democracy," said another worker.

Crotty charged that the workers who supported the newsletter's ideas had been "associated with the railway labor movement for only a short time." Well, that was true of most of our lodge's membership. That's because most of us were young and had spent a good bit of our working lives on the unemployment lines. We didn't feel that made our opinions any less valid.

At Christmas time, 146 of us were out of work again. Many of the recently hired Black and women workers were first to be laid off. This time we hadn't even been allowed to work long enough to collect unemployment benefits.

When our lodge organized a picket outside the Amtrak offices to protest the layoffs, BMWE officials joined the bosses in condemning our action as "disruptive."

By doing so Crotty and his fellow bureaucrats showed who is really responsible for "divisive" and "detrimental" measures in the rail unions today.

## LIBROS EN ESPANOL

¿Qué Hacer? by V.I. Lenin	\$1.50
Democracia y Revolución by George Novack	3.50
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Reforma o Revolución by Rosa Luxemburg	1.50
En Defensa del Marxismo by Leon Trotsky	2.75
Sobre la Liberación Nacional by Leon Trotsky	2.60
La Dialéctica Actual de la Revolución Mundial, edited by Will Reissner	3.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## Big Bill Haywood

Fifty years ago this month, Big Bill Haywood died.

Haywood was a giant of the American labor movement, a founding member of the Industrial Workers of the World and head of the Western Federation of Miners.

In 1917 he was arrested for his opposition to the imperialist First World War and convicted in a mass trial of IWW members in 1918. In 1921, while on bail, he fled to the Soviet Union, where he died in 1928.

James P. Cannon, a participant in many of the same struggles as Haywood, paid tribute to him in an article that originally appeared in the May 22, 1928, 'Daily Worker.' The entire article can be read in 'Notebook of an Agitator,' published by Pathfinder Press.

Excerpts from the 'Daily Worker' article appear below.

An outstanding personality and leader of the pre-war revolutionary labor movement in America, and also a member and leader of the modern communist movement which grew up on its foundation, Bill Haywood represented a connecting link which helped to establish continuity between the old movement and the new. Growing out of the soil of America, or better, hewn out of its rocks, he first entered the labor movement as a pioneer unionist of the formative days of the Western Federation of Miners thirty years ago. From that starting point he bent his course toward the conscious class struggle and marched consistently on that path to the end of his life. He died a Communist and a soldier of the Communist International.

He grew up in the hardship and struggle of the mining camps of the West. Gifted with the careless physical courage of a giant and an eloquence of speech, Bill soon became a recognized leader of the metal miners. He developed with them through epic struggles toward a militancy of action combined with a socialistic understanding, even in that early day, which soon placed the Western Federation of Miners, which Haywood said "was born in a Bull Pen," in the vanguard of the American labor movement.

It was the merger of these industrial proletarian militants of the West with the socialist political elements represented by Debs and De Leon, which brought about the formation of the IWW in 1905. The fame and outstanding prominence of Haywood as a labor leader even in that day is illustrated by the fact that he was chosen chairman of the historic First Convention of the IWW in 1905.

The brief, simple speech he delivered there, as recorded in the stenographic minutes of the convention, stands out in many respects as a charter of labor of that



day. His plea for the principle of the class struggle, for industrial unionism, for special emphasis on the unskilled workers, for solidarity of black and white workers, and for a revolutionary goal of the labor struggle, anticipated many established principles of the modern revolutionary labor movement.

The attempt to railroad him to the gallows on framed-up murder charges in 1906 was thwarted by the colossal protest movement of the workers who saw in this frame-up against him a tribute to his talent and power as a labor leader, and to his incorruptibility. His name became a battle cry of the socialist and labor movement.

The World War and the Russian Revolution did not pass by Haywood unnoticed.

First taking his stand with that group in the IWW which favored adherence to the Red International of Labor Unions, he gradually developed his thought further and finally came to the point where he proclaimed himself a communist and a disciple of Lenin. He became a member of the Communist Party of America before his departure for Russia. There he was transferred to the Russian Communist Party and, in recognition of his lifetime of revolutionary work, he was given the status of "an old party member"—the highest honor anyone can enjoy in the land of workers' triumph.

As a leader of the workers in open struggle Haywood was a fighter, the like of which is all too seldom seen. Endowed with a giant's physique and an absolute disregard of personal hazards, he pulled the striking workers to him as to a magnet and imparted to them his own courage and spirit.

With a twenty-year prison sentence hanging over him he was compelled to leave America in the closing years of his life and to seek refuge in workers' Russia. He died there in the Kremlin.

Capitalist America made him an outlaw and he died expatriated from his native land. But in the ranks of the militant workers of America, who owe so much to his example, he remains a citizen of the first rank.

## Letters

### Reasons to subscribe

We want to continue our subscription to the *Militant* for the following reasons: First, the *Militant* is the only newspaper that is capable of keeping us informed about the issues that confront us as working people. Second, the *Militant* provides the perspective necessary to understand the issues that it presents. Third, the *Militant* answers the question: "What is to be done."

Keep up the good work.  
Robert Neff  
Nancy Ruthenbeck  
Indianapolis, Indiana

### Relays the message

As over years and years you have surprised and supplied me with the weekly edition of the *Militant* newspaper, no words can truly express my appreciation to you.

I want you to stop my subscription because in a couple of weeks I am to be released back into society. But I can truly say that once I'm there I will subscribe to you again, because I can see that your paper is beneficial in relaying the message.  
A prisoner  
Georgia

### Workers' compensation

In the April 14 issue of the *Militant*, in the article "Roots of rebellion in miners union," you used the term workmen's compensation. I believe that this term has been changed to workers' compensation by some, most, or all bureaus set up to regulate compensation to workers for on-the-job injuries. This is definitely the case in Minnesota.

Jim Kendrick  
St. Paul, Minnesota

## Dalou Asahi

Dalou Asahi (Mariano González) was a leader of the 1971 Attica prisoner rebellion. He was killed April 2 in a Brooklyn, New York, shoot-out in which two cops also died. Former Attica inmate Cleveland (Jomo) Davis, who was with Asahi at the time, survived the shoot-out. He has been arrested and charged with all three deaths. His lawyer maintains Davis is innocent.

The following letter is by Baxter Smith, who covered the Attica cases for several years for the 'Militant.'

It was my first prison interview and there I was, stomach a mess of butterflies, not knowing what might happen. Because I was a *Militant* reporter, I had to be interrogated by the warden before I was allowed inside.

That all was five years ago when I went to the Erie County Jail in Buffalo, New York, to interview several men who were being held there for demanding respect for their humanity in a crime called the Attica revolt.

After I was allowed inside, Dalou was brought to me. He winked and gave a smile. My fear vanished.

For the next hour this young Puerto Rican prison leader opened his heart and mind on subjects from the prison problem to international politics.

Naturally, when this exceptional product of the New York City ghetto was slain by cop bullets two weeks ago I was numbed and deeply saddened.

Dalou had stood out among the Attica defendants. He played as full a role in the defense as his incarceration, which lasted through most of it, allowed him.



Militant/Baxter Smith

He always pointed the finger of blame at the state. But that was nothing new for Dalou Asahi, born Mariano González.

Early on he came to realize that the suffering of Puerto Ricans required special action to end it. He joined the Young Lords Party, a militant Puerto Rican group that flourished in New York City in the late 1960s.

But the frustration and despair of the ghetto claimed another victim when Dalou landed in Attica after several offenses.

Then, in September 1971, Dalou's street-groomed political understanding got its biggest workout. The prison rebels wanted him as their leader. It took no coaxing.

Attica is now history. All the defendants, save one, having been released.

Several months ago I ran into Dalou at a restaurant in town. He remembered our prison interviews, and we recalled the rebellion. He expressed his respect for the *Militant* and said he often directed people to the Socialist Workers Party bookstore for radical literature.

Dalou was always a rebel, a determined Puerto Rican rebel.

Baxter Smith  
Washington, D.C.

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# Learning About Socialism

## How Debs learned about socialism

### Fightback strategy

A most commendable beginning was set off by, for, and of the people by the coal miners in their recent strike. Union people from all over the country, plus Mexican, Canadian, and other groupings responded generously to the United Mine Workers union.

This marked a new era when workers, students, women, etc. donated food, clothing, and cash to bolster the coal miners' strike. They may have reckoned "an injury to one is an injury to all!"

This terrific response reveals that a grand majority are awaiting a next step in the political arena. A labor party may soon be a next step for a majority of the toilers.

Taxation minus representation was the basic reason we revolted from England!

Johnny Adams  
New York, New York

### Prisoner subscription

I am a prisoner, and I have seen your paper once before coming here. I would like to have a free subscription to it. I have no family or other means of finance. No one here has your paper, and I would like very much to read it and share it with others.

A prisoner  
Tennessee

### Donates subscription

I am a subscriber to the *Militant*, and my subscription has about another year to go. However, I will soon be traveling abroad, and since I will be out of the country, I would like to donate the remainder of my subscription to a prisoner.

I know it has been a policy of yours for some years to try to reach out to prisoners around the country with your newspaper, and I feel that in this way my remaining subscription will be doing some political good.

James Scully  
New York, New York

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

The best-known American socialist leader was Eugene V. Debs. Four times the Socialist Party candidate for president, he ran his last campaign in 1920 from behind the walls of the U.S. penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia. Debs had been imprisoned for making an antiwar speech during World War I.

It was during a previous term in jail that Debs concluded that the workers had to replace the capitalist system with socialism. In an article titled "How I Became a Socialist" (in *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, available from Pathfinder Press, or at the socialist headquarters listed below), Debs described how the great railway strike of 1894 set the stage for his shift to socialism.

Debs was born in 1855 in Terre Haute, Indiana. He got a job as a fireman on the railroad in 1871 and joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen in 1875.

The union movement in this period was extremely weak. There were literally dozens of unions on the railroad, divided along craft lines. Firemen, engineers, switchmen, car washers, signalmen, and conductors were all organized separately.

Debs didn't start out as a militant unionist, but experience convinced him that the rail workers needed the power of a united organization and the strike weapon. In June of 1893, Debs set about the organization of the American Railway Union, a single union of all railway workers.

Within one year the new union signed up 150,000 members. When this figure is compared with the combined membership of the other rail unions at that time (less than 90,000), and the combined total for the American Federation of Labor (175,000) the significance of the ARU becomes clear. And the implications were not lost on the bosses.

A decisive showdown came just one year after the formation of the ARU, when the workers at the Pullman Palace Car Company appealed for help.

The workers had been on strike for a month when they appealed to the first convention of the ARU. During the previous year, the wages of Pullman workers had been slashed by an average of one-third—and in some cases by as much as 85 percent. The work force had been cut from 5,500 to 3,300. Pullman also raised the rents on the hovels it required its employees to live in and the prices at its company store.

June 26, 1894, was set by the ARU as the date for a national strike against the Pullman company. The union

refused to move Pullman cars, and the railroads refused to move trains without them. By July 1 the railroads were shut down tight, *without violence*, except in a handful of cases.

But violence was not long in coming. The capitalist class declared war on the strikers and their leadership. The bosses' government, headed by Democratic President Grover Cleveland, moved in to smash what the capitalist press called the "Debs rebellion."

Peaceful assemblies of workers were fired on by troops. Railway workers were jailed for refusing to fire up their engines. Troops were dispatched to every major rail point in the country to "protect" the property of the railroads.

The strike was broken, and Debs was jailed for six months for failure to obey an antistrike injunction. In prison he began the study that ultimately brought him to socialist conclusions. Every day's mail brought him pamphlets, books, and newspapers written by socialists. Socialists came to visit him and to discuss their ideas with him. Little by little, Debs put it all together.

He became convinced that as long as the capitalist class had the state, with its soldiers and cops and jails at its disposal, there was no way in which the workers could win their fundamental demands.

Having seen that the workers' fight for decent living conditions was bound up with the political fight against the capitalist government, Debs devoted the rest of his life to the struggle for a workers' government in the United States.

Although the ARU was crushed in 1894, the idea of industrial unionism didn't die. In 1905 Debs helped found the Industrial Workers of the World. Thirty-one years later (and ten years after Debs died) great sit-down strikes succeeded in establishing industrial unionism in the giant auto plants of Michigan and laid the basis for the unionization of most of basic industry.

Many of the decisive battles in this struggle were led by socialists inspired by Debs.

Industrial unionism is now accepted by most workers as the logical way to organize to defend our interests, but the central problem faced by Debs—the role of the capitalist government—still exists. President Carter's attempt to break the recent coal strike was another reminder of which side the capitalist government is on.

Experiences such as the coal strike, and study inspired by these experiences, are going to bring the most thoughtful workers today to socialist conclusions, just as they brought Debs to socialism eighty-four years ago. —Robin Maisel

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# THE MILITANT

## 'No aid to S. Africa!' Student protests hit U.S. investments

### Harvard

By Bob Pearlman

CAMBRIDGE—On April 27, 3,500 students turned out for a rally protesting Harvard's standstill on its investment policy in South Africa.

The action was in response to the announcement by the Harvard Corporation, the university governing body, that it would advocate a case-by-case analysis of "Harvard companies" operating under the apartheid system to determine which ones should stay in South Africa and which should leave.

The Harvard Corporation thus turned a deaf ear to student demands that it immediately sell stocks and bonds in banks that lend money to the South African government.

On April 28, 500 students picketed University Hall, the main administration building, stopping all business.

Harvard students are planning another demonstration at commencement day activities.

### Columbia

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—More than 600 Columbia University students held a march, rally, and sit-in here May 1.

The students were demanding the school dispose of the \$80 million it has invested in corporations active in South Africa.

They also protested the university's slumlord operations in the surrounding community, the presence of a nuclear reactor on campus, and the flouting of affirmative-action guidelines by the administration.

The actions were sponsored by the Committee Against Investment in South Africa (CAISA) and the 1978 Committee, a loose coalition of campus activists.

The rally heard speakers from the two sponsoring organizations, the African National Congress, the American Committee on Africa, and the Columbia Black Student Organization.

Representatives of Lesbians at Barnard and Gay People at Columbia added their calls for gay rights to the demonstration's demands. Other organizations joining the protest included the Young Socialist Alliance



Columbia University action May 1

Militant/Rich Robohm

and the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

Chanting, "Freedom yes, apartheid no," and, "Columbia out of South Africa," the students took to the streets after the rally for a march through the adjoining community, including nearby Harlem.

One of the many marchers sporting a black-and-white button that said, "Divest" was Ellen McGinty, a nineteen-year-old Barnard student. She was too young at the time to have participated in the anti-Vietnam War movement and was marching in a demonstration for the first time. Asked if she planned to stay active in the fight against Columbia's involvement in apartheid, McGinty said, "I'll be in it until they get out of South Africa. I don't believe in doing anything illegal, but I'll be screaming and yelling until they get out."

Another protester was a twenty-five-year-old Black man from the community who explained why he had come: "For something that was really important. I decided that it was time for me and my son, who's fifteen months, to join in."

When the demonstrators returned from their march, they circled Low Library where university trustees were in session. Mark Edmonds, a Black student at Columbia and a leader of CAISA, told the chanting protesters,

"We want the people inside that building to know that if they try to ignore us today, we'll be back tomorrow, the next day, and the day after that, until Black people in this country and South Africa have achieved liberation."

The students tried without success to send a delegation in to present their demands to the trustees. About 200 then marched to the school of business and staged a peaceful sit-in, which lasted until midnight.

By the end of the seven-hour occupation, students had decided to continue their protests with a demonstration at a meeting of the university senate on May 3. This meeting is expected to hear two reports from a subcommittee set up to study the divestment question. The minority report is said to recommend total divestment of Columbia's apartheid-tainted stocks.

### Ann Arbor

By Omari Musa

Students protesting U.S. support to the racist South African government greeted Vice-president Walter Mondale during his commencement speech at the University of Michigan April 29.

The students waved placards calling

on the U.S. to get out of South Africa.

Apparently losing his cool, Mondale engaged in a shouting match with the students, invoking the Carter administration's human rights rhetoric. "Without reckless interventionism in our relations with countries of Africa and elsewhere," he exclaimed, "we can make it clear that we are on the side of human freedom and majority rule, even when that challenges powerful economic and political interests."

The bluster was designed to hide the fact that trade between the U.S. and South Africa totaled more than \$2 billion in 1976. There are \$2.2 billion in loans provided by U.S. banks and \$1.7 billion invested by U.S. corporations in South Africa.

The University of Michigan is directly involved in financing apartheid. It has more than \$38 million invested in firms operating in South Africa.

In March the university board of regents decided, to ignore students' demands that it divest and voted to maintain its holdings. The regents sought to cover themselves by sending letters to firms it holds stock in—asking them, according to the *Times*, to affirm their commitment to principles of equal opportunity and employment.

## Boston activists rally against apartheid

By Bob Pearlman

BOSTON—More than 750 people rallied on the Boston Common April 30 to demand an end to U.S. government support to the South African regime.

Sponsors of the rally included the American Friends Service Committee; Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa; Martin Luther King Center at Boston University; International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa; Citizens for Participation in Political Action; and Boston Clamshell Alliance.

Alan Frolich, a leader of the campaign to stop Harvard University's investment in South Africa, addressed the rally. A few days before, 3,500

students at Harvard had demonstrated to demand that the school divest its stocks. The students, said Frolich, view their fight as "a small part of the growing struggle of the American people to get their government out of South Africa."

Mfundu Dündla of the African National Congress applauded the growing divestment movement. "We view divestment as important," Dündla told the crowd. "It is in line with what all nationalist groups in South Africa are calling for—the withdrawal of the multinational corporations. It is one of the concrete ways the American people can help the struggling masses in

South Africa."

Student Coalition Against Racism spokesperson Marie Rivera pledged that "SCAR chapters around the country will join in all efforts to build pickets, rallies, and demonstrations like this one to get the U.S. out of South Africa lock, stock, and barrel."

U.S. Rep. Edward Markey, who has introduced several resolutions into Congress to cut off loan guarantees to the apartheid regime, told those assembled: "Our government still hesitates, still waits, still seeks to delay the measures necessary against apartheid."

Joel Saxe of the Northeast Coalition

for the Liberation of Southern Africa described the wave of divestment struggles sweeping New England campuses.

At a meeting later that evening at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the coalition's steering committee launched plans for a June 17 public rally in Boston and coordinated divestment activities for the fall.

In a related development, the Massachusetts secretary of education announced that he has written to all Massachusetts state colleges instructing them to divest their stock in all companies doing business in South Africa.